

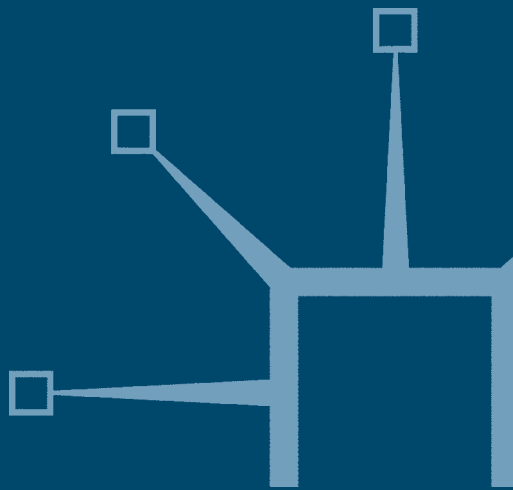
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Western Views of Islam in Medieval and Early Modern Europe

Perception of Other

Edited by

David R. Blanks and Michael Frassetto



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Modern Europe

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St. Martin's Press
New York



WESTERN VIEWS OF ISLAM IN MEDIEVAL AND EARLY MODERN EUROPE

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*Dedicated with gratitude to our teacher
Richard Sullivan*

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Western Views of Islam
in Medieval and Early
Modern Europe

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Introduction

David R. Blanks and Michael Frassetto

Aristotle thought that the peoples of Europe were courageous in warfare but dull-witted on account of the cold. The peoples of Asia, by contrast, were warm: therefore they were intelligent and skillful. Unfortunately, the heat also sapped their strength. According to Aristotle, this explained the intelligence *and* courage of the Greeks who lived between Europe and Asia and inherited the best of both worlds.

The Romans thought differently. They described the peoples of Asia as ferocious fighters. Recalling an episode from the battle of Adrianople (378), where the Roman legions were aided by Arab mercenaries, Ammianus Marcellinus tells the story of one of the Arabs, a wild, hairy man, naked except for a loincloth, who rushed into the center of the enemy line, stabbed in the neck the first Goth he saw, then drank his blood. It seems that the unexpected encounter worked wonders for the Romans. Ammianus observes that after witnessing this lycanthropic display, “[the Goths] did not show their usual self-confidence.”¹

These varied perceptions remind us not just that the East has always held a certain fascination for westerners; more importantly, the European view of the “other,” like the European view of the “self,” has since classical times revolved around an ever-changing set of historical circumstances. And as profound and complex as East-West relations were in the ancient world, how much more intense they would become with the spread of monotheism and the addition of a potent spiritual dimension to what was already an uneasy intercourse between rival civilizations. By the eleventh century, when Western

writers were finally beginning to form a notion of what it meant to be European, they found themselves confronted by a powerful and threatening Islam, which they by and large were neither able nor willing to understand. To be sure, there were other important elements that went into the construction of the Western identity: Europe was also the product of internal colonization and cultural assimilation.² Yet the encounter with the Muslim “other” was elemental to the shaping of the Western world view. This was especially true during those centuries that began with the crusades and ended with the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire.

Whether or not one agrees with Richard Southern’s conviction that Islam was Christendom’s greatest problem,³ the West was engaged with the Muslim world in countless ways. The crusades and the Reconquista were only part of the story; and while these episodes and others like them were the source of much of the hostility toward Islam, there was nearly always an undercurrent of conflicting viewpoints that flowed back into Europe to ameliorate the dominant tradition. Diplomats, merchants, theologians, artists, poets, women and children, people from every class, pilgrims, slaves, criminals, camp followers—all had East-West connections, and those who returned brought home tales of wonder and disgust. These varied impressions, mixed with a set of preconceived ideas, were spread through stories, poems, folktales, and sermons, but mostly through word-of-mouth, and eventually a set of notions was formed from which all Europeans drew their collective perceptions of the “other” and from which every European would have to choose those elements that informed his or her personal opinion.

During the Renaissance, which saw the world through new eyes, well worn stereotypes of Muhammad and Islam were overlaid with fresh impressions.⁴ In the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries more informed and, on occasion, more tolerant attitudes began to appear. The Saracens became Moors and Turks, Islam became somewhat better understood, there was increased commercial and military activity in the Mediterranean, and the level of European cultural sophistication rose to the point where more nuanced views were made possible, at least in elite circles.

After that, historical circumstances evolved ever more quickly. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries European regimes either became stronger or crumbled while trying to cope with recurrent economic and security crises. These were rural revolts, urban riots, and political upheavals; there were scientific and eventually technological breakthroughs; nationalism was born; societies were organized in untried ways; new concepts circulated that stirred the stifling air of ideological oppression. Inevitably, still more images of the Muslim were raised next to the old, but they were not solely the products of the Age of Reason. Romanticism rebelled against the

idea of a rationally constructed social contract in favor of a European identity that was emotional, exclusive, irrational, and, above all, communal and racial. This is where the story gets picked up by modern scholars searching for the origins of Orientalism and Eurocentrism, but it is overly simplistic to assume, as many have, that medieval and Renaissance attitudes were carried whole cloth into the modern world. Without doubt there was some continuity, which is one of the reasons that it is important to continue to explore premodern perceptions, but it is just as important to note the breaks and discontinuities, to separate long-standing prejudices and misconceptions from modern stereotypes that more often than not arise from entirely modern conditions.

Thus in regards to western views of Islam, the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries must be considered a prominent cultural and historical frontier. By then the Muslim military threat had been met and the European psychology had begun to change. Until then, however, Islam was a danger all too real. The struggle over Spain, the collapse of the crusader states, piracy in the Mediterranean, the fall of Constantinople, the precarious position of Vienna: all served to kindle hostility and fear.

Southern's observation that Islam was Europe's greatest problem is a valuable one because it recognizes not only the threat of Islam but also the more serious question of definition and understanding. During the Middle Ages, Islamic civilization was far ahead of its Christian rival, offering enticing advances in architecture, law, literature, philosophy, and, indeed, in most areas of cultural activity. It was therefore from a position of military and, perhaps more importantly, cultural weakness that Christian Europe developed negative images, some of which survive to the present day. In part, this hostility was the result of continued political and military conflict, but it likewise ensued from a Western sense of cultural inferiority.

Thus the Western need to construct an image of the Muslim, of the "other," was a twofold process that came to dominate the premodern discourse concerning Islam.⁵ On the one hand, it created an image of the Saracen, Moor, or Turk that was wholly alien and wholly evil. In both popular and learned literature Muslims were portrayed as cowardly, duplicitous, lustful, self-indulgent pagans who worshipped idols and a trinity of false gods. On the other hand, the creation of such a blatantly false stereotype enabled Western Christians to define themselves. Indeed, the Muslim became, in a sense, a photographic negative of the self-perception of an ideal Christian self-image, one that portrayed Europeans as brave, virtuous believers in the one true God and the one true faith. By debasing the image of their rivals, Western Christians were enhancing their own self-images and trying to build self-confidence in the face of a more powerful and more culturally sophisticated enemy.

The emergence of Islam posed another problem as well, one that Southern did not consider. Despite the hostilities, the peoples of the Mediterranean share deep cultural traditions that predate the rise of monotheism, but that were reinforced with the spread of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam from the Middle East into Europe and North Africa. And despite the protests of ephemeral generations of combatants, which are recorded in chronicles, poems, and plays, there are profound ties that attract and bind two civilizations that encounter one another with a startling sense of *déjà vu*. In fact, the “great problem” may have been one of accommodation rather than confrontation. Sicily, Spain, and the crusader states were battlefields but they were also places of important cultural exchange. It is often noted, for example, that crusaders who remained in the Holy Lands were better assimilated to local Arabo-Islamic culture than were the new arrivals. Cervantes’s “Captive’s Tale” gives the same impression. So too does the history of Salah al-Din, who came to be regarded as a respected and worthy opponent. Gradually the stories about him that filtered back to Europe were nurtured into legends.⁶

And of course there were significant scholarly exchanges as well. Perhaps the clearest instance of this can be found in the activities of Peter the Venerable and his associates, most notably Robert of Ketton, who consulted Muslim scholars for his Latin translation of the Qur’an.⁷ Christian thought owed a great debt to Muslim theologians and philosophers, especially Avicenna (Ibn Sīnā) who was respected as the translator of Aristotle.⁸ In literature, too, Islam exercised a positive influence on the development of European culture.⁹ Consequently, whether our premodern ancestors were conscious of it or not, there was much positive exchange across a very hostile frontier.

How then should we characterize Muslim-Christian relations before the eighteenth century? Acts of aggression—military and literary—were committed by both sides. Hostile attitudes lingered alongside a literary record that offered less inflammatory alternatives. It is the purpose of this book to examine this paradox, to explore the variety of images of the Muslim in our premodern sources, and to consider the influence of those perceptions on Western views of Islam as they evolved in an increasingly complex and mutually interdependent world.

The difficulties facing modern scholars, and the variety of images to be found in premodern writings, are explored in the essays by David R. Blanks and Jo Ann Hoepfner Moran Cruz. Together they show that modern scholars have a tendency to simply assume a degree of enmity toward Islam by medieval and early modern writers that did not exist in any uniform fashion. In his study of modern scholarly literature, Blanks argues that just as our medieval predecessors created an image of the “East,” so too have modern scholars.

Since the early nineteenth century they have viewed Islam and the East through a variety of lenses, at first polemical and then with increasing objectivity.¹⁰ Blanks both downplays the continuity of medieval and modern attitudes and emphasizes the idea that premodern perceptions of Islam were more varied and complex than is generally held, a suggestion confirmed in the essay by Moran Cruz. She too rejects the tendency to regard medieval attitudes as uniform and static, noting that historians have done away with universalist notions of medieval social and cultural structures everywhere *except* in consideration of attitudes toward Islam. Although the chansons de gestes presented an uncomplimentary image, other popular literature was less critically disposed. Moran Cruz explains that although the official stance of the church was hostile, many ecclesiastics sought a better understanding of this eastern religion and actively studied the works of Muslim theologians.

The contributions by Michael Frassetto and John Tolan focus on the dominant negative tradition and its attendant stereotypes. Frassetto looks at the creation of images of “other” in the early eleventh century, an issue raised recently by R. I. Moore.¹¹ For Frassetto, the early eleventh-century writings of Ademar of Chabannes provide an example of hostility toward Islam based upon ignorance. Drawing upon his own eschatological fears, Ademar saw Saracens as minions of Antichrist who possessed a wide array of evil characteristics. In some ways Ademar’s polemical approach to Islam prefigures the attitudes found in the crusader chronicles. Focusing especially on the writings of Petrus Tudebodus, Tolan discovers many of the stereotypes that would become commonplace in medieval literature. Tudebodus and the other chroniclers of the First Crusade placed their war in the context of sacred history and compared the crusaders with the martyrs of the early church who struggled against paganism. The Muslims became the new pagans and the crusaders the new martyrs spreading the gospel. Tolan notes that as pagans the Muslims worshipped idols and multiple gods and blasphemed the true God. Consequently, these chroniclers declared, they would be punished by God’s faithful crusaders.

This militant Christian posture was also found in medieval Spain, but not unequivocally. As Donald Kagay explains, the law and literature of medieval Aragon reveals an official ambivalence toward Muslim subjects that left room for, or in some cases, actually encouraged accommodation. Indeed, James I (1213–76) respected and protected his Muslim vassals. Yet James himself also saw war with Islam as a divine mission, and the long history of Islam in Spain, from the eighth century to the fifteenth, offered numerous opportunities for open conflict between Christians and Muslims. These prolonged clashes led to the depiction of Muslims as barbarous, cowardly, and lustful. Kagay reveals how the image of Spanish Muslims was enslaved by the stereotypes Europeans were constructing for themselves.

Alauddin Samarrai and Ernest Kaulbach go even further in the search for cultural accommodation. In spite of the long-standing grievances and deeply felt hatreds, Samarrai prefers to emphasize the shared Judeo-Christian traditions along with the common heritage of the ancient world. He sees monotheism and scholarly exchanges in science, literature, and philosophy as being far more important than the intermittent warfare between these two intrinsically Mediterranean civilizations. For Samarrai, medieval civilization was a synthesis, a concept he reinforces by examining the Arabic as well as the Latin tradition. Moreover, as Kaulbach demonstrates in his investigation of the *Glossa Ordinaria*, Christian scholars consciously borrowed from the Muslim intellectuals. Throughout the twelfth century Christian theologians studied the Qur'an and Arabic translations of ancient texts, a practice that was followed by thirteenth-century masters like Phillip the Chancellor, Jean de la Rochelle, and Alexander of Hales. Their work would continue to be influenced by the traditions of Arabic-Aristotelian science. The methods they used and conclusions they drew would find their way into popular literature like *Piers Plowman*.

Interestingly, it was precisely in such popular literature that some of the most positive portrayals of Muslims would appear. Take for example the fifteenth-century fiction of Thomas Malory. As Nina Dulin-Mallory points out, the Saracen Palomides is characterized as a great knight who possessed all the virtues usually ascribed to good Christian knights. Although ultimately accepting baptism, Palomides performed valiant and courageous acts as a Saracen. Dulin-Mallory flushes out the sources of the Palomides legend and shows how the image of this particular Saracen evolved into the complex but virtuous figure evoked in the *Morte Darthur*.

Italian sources from the late Middle Ages and Renaissance also reveal a by-now-familiar ambivalence. As Gloria Allaire and Nancy Bisaha demonstrate, the range of attitudes found in earlier texts resurfaces in Italy in the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries. Allaire compares a number of fifteenth-century Italian texts with the older French chansons to determine how and in what ways the image of the Muslim/Saracen changed. She discovers that many of the traditional stereotypes—polytheism, treachery, cruelty, etc.—carry over into Renaissance literature, but she finds in those same texts the development of a new character, “Noble Saracen.” Although Muslims continue to be regarded with suspicion, there was a tendency to present them in less diabolical and more human terms.

Similarly, in her discussion of Renaissance humanist texts, Bisaha finds the firstborn sons of modern discourse on Islam in the writings of Petrarch, Leonardo Bruni, and others. A more “modern” perspective took shape that prefigured the attitudes of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century commentators. Furthermore, Bisaha highlights the fact that Italian writers adopted a

noticeably secular perspective toward their enemies, one that they found in the classical texts they were using as models. Notwithstanding these positive appraisals, which were increasingly in evidence, Bisaha concludes that most humanists still cast Turks as new barbarians: a nation of Goths bent on destroying civilization; a nation that must be destroyed; a threat worthy of a new crusade.

The final essay of the volume, by Daniel J. Vitkus, addresses Western attitudes toward Islam and the East in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Vitkus discusses the influence of literary traditions on writers such as Sir Philip Sidney and Edmund Spenser. Tracing the impact of earlier demonizations and the influence of rhetorical models found in classical and religious texts, he makes the important point that for premodern audiences the distinctions between story and history, legend and chronicle were all but nonexistent. Likewise, he examines the role of sectarian controversies in the creation of an increasingly diverse body. The same ambivalent attitudes and paradoxes seen elsewhere were refashioned during the Reformation as preachers and politicians wrote favorably of the Turks—at least to the extent that they saw them as a scourge for their enemies—positive proof of divine justice. Yet due to the threat of Muslim wealth, military might, and cultural power, the prevailing views were antagonistic. According to Vitkus, the “Orientalism” described by Edward Said appeared in nascent form well before the nineteenth century.

Carl Becker, who worked on that shifty cultural and historical frontier, the eighteenth century, once remarked that each generation “must inevitably play on the dead whatever tricks it finds necessary for its own piece of mind.”¹² The historians and literary critics who have written these essays are fascinated by those tricks, drawn by the desire to unravel the illusion. The aim is to reveal the deepest layers of medieval and early modern culture and to prove the past for clearer understandings of an East-West dynamic that continues to have tremendous force in the late twentieth century. They go about it by interviewing long-dead witnesses—preachers, princes, knights, clerks, judges, scholars, and poets. They peruse their private records, listen to their songs, attend their theater, drop in at their courts of law, and attempt to enter their dreams; their measure of success must be left to the reader to decide.

Ironically, by demystifying the magic of memory, these essays simultaneously open the past to new interpretations. Thus we end up playing our own tricks on the dead—and for reasons not dissimilar in their psychology to those that motivated the medieval and early modern scholars that we study. In order to ease our anxieties and insecurities, we try to tease out hints of tolerance and mutual respect. In a word, we search for similarities so that we can allay our fears, much in the same way that our predecessors emphasized

difference in order to allay theirs. But today there is an added dimension. By elucidating the past we seek to exorcise the guilt of our ancestors and to redress the wrongs that premodern attitudes have wrought upon the present. Thus we also play our tricks so as to alleviate our culpability, a vague, uneasy feeling born of our more or less willing complicity in the stream of Western history. The measure of our success must be left to each of us to decide.

Notes

1. Cited by John C. Lamoreaux, "Early Christian Responses to Islam," in *Medieval Christian Perceptions of Islam*, ed. John Victor Tolan (New York and London, 1996), 9.
2. Robert Bartlett shows that to a large extent European identity was formed in the Middle Ages through the internal expansion of language and religion in what is now considered central and eastern Europe, see *The Making of Europe: Conquest, Colonization and Cultural Change, 950–1350* (Princeton, 1993).
3. R. W. Southern, *Western Views of Islam in the Middle Ages*, 2d printing (Cambridge, Mass., 1978), 3.
4. It should be noted that we have accepted the modern spelling of the Prophet's name throughout this book but have reproduced the various spellings of his name according to the conventions of individual medieval and Renaissance authors when discussing those authors.
5. Perhaps the most important discussion of this for the modern world, but one that has bearing on the premodern world, is that of Edward Said, *Orientalism* (London and New York, 1995). See also Norman Daniel, *Islam and the West: The Making of an Image* (Edinburgh, 1962), and R. I. Moore, *The Formation of a Persecuting Society: Power and Deviance in Western Europe, 950–1250* (Oxford, 1987), who argues that the creation of stereotypes of the "other" was an essential part of medieval European culture. For a different perspective—that of Islam toward the West—see Bernard Lewis, *The Muslim Discovery of Europe* (London, 1982).
6. See John Rodenbeck, "Cervantes and Islam: Attitudes towards Islam and Islamic Culture in *Don Quixote*," in *Images of Other: Europe and the Muslim World Before 1700*, ed. David R. Blanks (Cairo, 1997), 39–54; and John V. Tolan, "Mirror of Chivalry: Salah al-Din in the Medieval European Imagination," in *Images of the Other: Europe and the Muslim World Before 1700*, ed. David R. Blanks (Cairo, 1997), 7–38.
7. For the activities of Peter the Venerable, see James Kritzeck, *Peter the Venerable and Islam* (Princeton, 1964), and *Petrus Venerabilis 1156–1956 Studies and Texts Commemorating the Eighth Century of his Death*, eds. Giles Constable and James Kritzeck (Rome, 1956). See also Thomas E. Burman, "Tafsir and Translation: Traditional Arabic Qur'an Exegesis and the Latin Qur'ans of Robert of Ketton and Mark of Toledo," *Speculum* (1998): 703–32.

8. On the influence of Islamic theologians on Christian thinkers, see David Knowles, "Arabian and Jewish Philosophy," *The Evolution of Medieval Thought* (New York, 1962), esp. 193–96 for the influence of Avicenna.
9. See, especially, Maria Rose Menocal, *The Arabic Role in Medieval Literary History: A Forgotten Heritage* (Philadelphia, 1987).
10. We use this word guardedly considering its own uncertain history. For an important discussion of the historian and "objectivity" see Peter Novick, *That Noble Dream. The "Objectivity Question" and the American Historical Profession* (Cambridge and New York, 1988).
11. See Moore, *The Formation of a Persecuting Society*. See also Daniel Callahan, "Ademar of Chabannes, Millennial Fears and the Development of Western Anti-Judaism," *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 46 (1995): 19–35. For a critique of Moore's view, see *Beyond the Persecuting Society: Religious Toleration Before the Enlightenment*, ed. John Christian Laursen and Cary J. Nederman (Philadelphia, 1998).
12. Carl Becker, *Everyman His Own Historian* (New York, 1935), 253.

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CHAPTER ONE

Western Views
of Islam in the
Premodern Period:
A Brief History of
Past Approaches

David R. Blanks

Cognoscitur inattingibilis veritatis unitas in alteritate coniecturali

—Nicholas de Cusa (15th century)

DIsraeli was right: the East is a career.¹ It always has been. The ancient Greeks divided the world into halves, and for the past 25 centuries Western scholars, soldiers, politicians, missionaries, merchants, travelers, and artists have been journeying eastward, constructing their own private Orients, returning home, and making them public. Their motives were mixed; their prejudices, rarely examined.

In the late twentieth century the East has become a career in a new way. Theorists have made their mark by deconstructing the narratives of earlier encounters, pulling apart assumptions and reexamining notions of objectivity and authorial intention that historians and literary critics had long taken for granted. In little more than two decades, 25 centuries of texts lost their

autonomy. Whatever else one may think of Edward Said and those who have followed his path, it is difficult to disagree with their basic contention that Western discourse has constructed an Orient that is often completely disconnected from the “real” Orient (whatever that is). So Said takes delight in Disraeli’s aphorism. Those who have made the East their career—from Herodotus and Hippocrates to the members of the Middle East Studies Association—have literally “made” their Easts.² The considerable scholarly debate over this issue has ranged from the insightful to the inane, but for the most part it has been limited to the period of liberalism, industrialization, and colonialism—in short, the modern world.³ Analyses implicate the Middle Ages, but there has been little examination of the premodern period by theorists, and little interest in theory on the part of medievalists.

Yet there is much to ponder. Take for example the comment by Fulcher of Chartres in the early twelfth century: “Consider, I pray, and reflect how in our time God has transformed the Occident into the Orient. For we who were Occidentals have now become Orientals. . . . We have already forgotten the places of our birth.”⁴ On the surface of it, Fulcher’s observation is an ironic reversal of the modern Orientalist position. This medieval version of the discourse has the East imposing itself on westerners, but on a deeper level Fulcher’s attitude serves to reinforce the differences between Occident and Orient, usually to the detriment of the latter. Here the discourse creates the discursive object in another reversal as well. Although modern observers have described the “crusades” and their attendant literature—a nexus of knowledge and power—as forms of colonialism and proto-Orientalism, this is not at all what the participants themselves thought they were doing. They were making pilgrimages to the Holy Land. It is little wonder that we have had such difficulty understanding Western views of Islam, when we have long misunderstood the medieval mind on its own terms quite apart from whatever interactions it might have had with alien cultures.

On yet another level, it is easy to see that Fulcher’s narrative mitigates against simplistic East/West binaries. Christians lived in Muslim territories and their experiences varied widely depending upon time, place, and circumstance. My focus here will be upon the heterogeneity of the Western discourse; at the same time, it must be remembered that the greatest division in Christian attitudes toward Islam was between that of the native Eastern Churches and the Latins.⁵ We must also keep in mind that although few Muslims lived in Christian territories (with notable exceptions in eleventh-century Sicily and post-Reconquista Spain), there were vibrant Muslim communities and powerful Muslim states in Spain, North Africa, Sicily, and Eastern Europe, so obviously “East” and “West” are also inadequate categories.⁶ Nonetheless, by the thirteenth century Europe had developed a self-identity, especially among the elites, that might properly be

called "Western." This identity was primarily Latin Christian at first, but became more notably "Western European" via humanism, the scientific method, and the cult of reason.⁷ Thus despite the inadequacy of these designations, I will be tracing the historiography of "Western" views of the "East" precisely because these are the assumptions that have until very recently been shared by premodern writers and their modern commentators.

Chronology is also a problem. We glibly speak of the "modern" and the "postmodern," just as freely of "premodern," but it is a matter of convenience and convention. Historians agree with literary critics that these periods do not have an external reality outside of the discourses that create them, but there is disagreement as to the implications. Modern theories of sociological knowledge and textual criticism render the past irrelevant in the sense that universal forms are thought to transcend specific historical moments, and postmodern theories show that grand historical narratives lack credibility as a result of the language game.⁸ In effect, it is claimed, history has been anesthetized.

But some see these new theoretical approaches as a positive development. For Lee Patterson, "the recognition that the natural, universal, given, transcendent, and timeless is historically constituted—and therefore alterable—is the great, liberating insight of postmodernism." Patterson suggests that the best approach to the past is through ironic history, "which dispenses with historiographic *grands récits* not in order to escape from historicity but to recover it in its local, concrete form."⁹ There could be no better summary of the historiography of Western views of Islam since 1945, and yet those who have furthered the trend have failed to make explicit the connections between their work and postmodern criticism. It seems the fragmentation of their efforts is chiefly a function of academic demographics and reflects, if anything, a shying away from critical theory.¹⁰

If the deep past escapes erasure, it is all too often collapsed into the present. Not infrequently studies of colonial and postcolonial attitudes toward Islam assume that the roots of modern stereotypes are imbedded in premodern culture.¹¹ Many in the anti-Orientalist camp share the sentiments of Rana Kabbani: "To write a literature of travel cannot but imply a colonial relationship. The claim is that one travels to learn but really, one travels to exercise power over land, women, peoples."¹² On the other hand, historians sometimes project medieval stereotypes into the future. Norman Daniel concluded his authoritative survey, *Islam and the West* (1960), with a chapter entitled "The Survival of Medieval Concepts," wherein he argues that Western views of Islam were "canonized" in the Middle Ages.¹³

While it is true that some medieval ideas have seeped into the present, the process of osmosis was slow and diffuse. It is nearly impossible to trace direct lines of transmission, especially outside the realms of intellectual and

literary history. Attitudes toward Islam were diverse in medieval and Renaissance Europe. Moreover, although modern stereotypes sometimes resemble those of the past, similar attitudes can arise for very different reasons. From the eleventh through the mid-seventeenth century derisive attacks by Western authors were born of a nagging inferiority complex vis-à-vis Arab civilization. In the course of the seventeenth century, however, the Muslim states ceased to be a threat politically, and the West began to develop new secular views that demystified religion and diminished the threat of Islam as a rival ideology. So in the modern period, derisive attitudes arise not from an inferiority complex but from a Eurocentric sense of cultural superiority.

The seventeenth century saw the end of the wars of religion, the ultimate recognition of Protestantism by the Catholic Church, the decline of the Ottoman Empire, the emergence of the European state system, the gradual secularization of governments, important technological developments in shipping and weaponry, the early colonization of the New World, the establishment of capitalism, the triumph of the heliocentric system, and a new spirit of individualism and rationality. Thus for the purposes of this essay, the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries will serve as the period of transition from the “premodern” to the “modern.” An admittedly arbitrary division, it is nonetheless a useful construct for examining a diverse set of texts and ideas that share certain cultural assumptions. If nothing else, this scheme will facilitate comparative analyses, because all of the writers on Western views of Islam in the modern period choose the seventeenth and/or the eighteenth century as the starting point for serious inquiry. Thus the medieval world becomes an exotic and fixed Other constructed by an ongoing presentist discourse.

The seventeenth century was also a linguistic turning point: the word “Islam” appeared for the first time in English in 1613 and in French in 1687. The use of the proper Arabic term denotes a new consciousness on the part of Europeans, although the older, inaccurate, and disrespectful designation “Mohammedanism” was replaced only very slowly.¹⁴ The *Oxford English Dictionary* still defines “Allah” as the name of the Deity among “Mohammedans,” an error that may well be the most politically incorrect in the history of modern lexicography. Yet something changed. Today in the *General Current Catalogue of Printed Books at the British Library (post-1975)*, there are 6,448 works with the word “Islam” in the title. Maxime Rodinson was also right: we *do* have a fascination with Islam.¹⁵ This brief history of past approaches is an attempt to trace the historiography of that fascination.

It was not until after World War I that scholars began to take a noticeable interest in Western views of Islam, and not until after World War II that the field really came into its own, but already in the nineteenth century studies

began to appear that reflected a nascent curiosity about the impact of Islam on the culture of premodern Europe. Spanish, French, and Italian scholars were the first to show an interest, especially in the realm of literary studies.

As early as the 1830s, medieval poetry was analyzed for what it had to say about Islam and the life of the Prophet, and by the time Alessandro d'Annunzio published his still useful "La leggenda di Maometto in Occidente" in 1889, the tradition had been well established.¹⁶ Although some of these early studies were—to put it charitably culturally insensitive—it is noteworthy that there were genuine albeit modest efforts to explain the common misconceptions that arose in medieval literature.¹⁷ Scholars read crusading literature not only in order to recreate a narrative of events, but also in order to examine medieval attitudes toward the Orient. One of the most successful of these projects was Gaston Paris's investigation of the legend of Salah al-Din, which he issued in fits and starts in 1893. It is worth noting that part of Paris's work on Salah al-Din was published in the first edition of a new journal, the *Revue de l'Orient latin*; which suggests a growing concern with Christian-Muslim relations.¹⁸ By the turn of the century, the Germans had made their first contribution to the study of western views of the East, and the first book-length study in French appeared not long after.¹⁹

One of the most enduring pieces of scholarship to emerge from this early period was the book by Miguel Asín y Palacios, which argued that Dante's imaginative journey was borrowed directly from the eschatology of Islam. By placing side by side passages from the *Divine Comedy* and various Arabic texts, Asín y Palacios tried to demonstrate that Dante's descriptions of hell, paradise, and the Beatific Vision were taken directly from, among others, the great Sufi mystic Ibn 'Arabi (1165–1240).²⁰ He was supported in this argument by scholars such as R. A. Nicholson.²¹ On the other side, it has been argued that there is little evidence of direct transmission and that there are plenty of Christian and pre-Christian sources for such journeys: Virgil's *Aeneid*, the apocryphal accounts of St. Paul's supernatural journeys, the voyages of St. Brendan, etc.²² The question has never really been decided to everyone's satisfaction. Yet it is interesting from an historiographical perspective that much of the debate has been divided along nationalist lines, Italian scholars being particularly reticent to give up the traditional view that Dante's work is completely original.²³

Not surprisingly, a number of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century works were devoted to the religious aspects of East-West relations. Here too new journals were established that reflected a growing if at times prurient interest in the topic. The most solid of these was the *Revue d'Histoire des Religions*, first issued in the mid-nineteenth century. Articles were published on such items as the formulas of abjuration required by the Byzantines of Muslims wishing to convert to Christianity.²⁴

At the other end of the spectrum were journals such as *The Moslem World*, edited by Samuel Zwemer and first published in 1910. Zwemer was a missionary with a good command of Arabic and a decent knowledge of the Qur'an who worked at the Arabian Mission of the Reformed Church throughout Turkey and the Gulf. He was also a journalist and historian who was taken seriously, as attested by the series of lectures he gave at the Princeton Theological Seminary in 1916 called "The Disintegration of Islam," and another at the Columbia Theological Seminary in 1935 called "The Origin of Religion." According to Zwemer, *The Moslem World* was a legitimate scholarly journal, a quarterly review of current events, literature, and Islamic thought, which was simultaneously concerned with the progress of Christian missionaries in Muslim lands.

Zwemer also published his own ostensibly scholarly works. The most well known was *Raymon Lull, First Missionary to the Moslems* (New York, 1902). Lull (ca. 1232–1316) was a Majorcan preacher, slightly mad, whose main aim was the conversion of the Saracens, and who wrote over 200 works on the subject in Latin, Catalan, and Arabic.²⁵ What is most striking about Zwemer's rather extensive biography, apart from the usual polemics, is that he exhibits equal portions of Orientalism and presentism.²⁶ As the title explains, Zwemer sees Lull as the archetypal missionary whose sole imperfection was his Catholicism. Exhibiting a fanatical Protestant hatred of the Middle Ages, Zwemer describes his medieval world in phrases identical to those employed by westerners both past and present in their constructions of the Orient: "The morality of the Middle Ages presents startling contrasts. Over and against each other, and not only in the same land, but often in the same individual, we witness sublime faith and degrading superstition, angelic purity and signs of gross sensuality."²⁷ Consequently, the author is forced to rescue Lull from this derelict civilization by ascribing to him all the virtues of an evangelical Protestant and by proclaiming that he "heralded the Reformation."²⁸ According to the book's editor, Zwemer demonstrated, among his various sterling qualities, an "absorbing love for the Mohammedans." Presumably this affection was equally evident in many of his other works such as *Our Moslem Sisters: a cry of need from lands of darkness interpreted by those who hear it* (New York, 1907) and *Mohammed or Christ. An account of the rapid spread of Islam in all parts of the globe, the methods employed to obtain proselytes, its immense press, its strongholds, and suggested means to be adopted to counteract the evil* (London, 1916).

Although on the whole, as I indicated in my introduction, my sense is that connections between premodern and modern prejudices are tenuous, here is a clear example of the sort of direct line of thinking that would appeal to Edward Said, Norman Daniel, and Hichem Djait. Like his contemporary Ranke, Zwemer's project was to describe the past "*wie es eigentlich*

gewesen,” but he ends up by defaming Islam as a “gigantic heresy” and recasting Raymund Lull in his own image (notwithstanding the very real similarities in their dogmatism). One can in fact draw a nice genealogy: Peter the Venerable—Raymund Lull—Martin Luther—Samuel Zwemer. This is not hyperbole. The idea was put forth in 1931 in the pages of the journal that Zwemer edited:

In vain do we search for a somewhat objective account of the religion of the false Prophet in the Middle Ages. There is much abuse and vituperation; but only a few, such as Raymund Lull or the noble Peter Venerabilis, try to arouse Christianity for missionary work among the Moslems. Just the reverse fault is made in modern times; the age of Rationalism regards Islam as the type of enlightened, free-thinking religiousness. Between these extremes stands Dr. Martin Luther, who penetrates with remarkable sagacity into the religion of “the Turks,” as far as the means at his disposal allow him, and endeavors to gain a just judgment without denying his Christian standpoint.²⁹

This passage—which I admit was just too good to pass up—is reminiscent of books such as *Imposture Instanced in the Life of Mahomet* (London, 1859) by G. Akehurst and *Life of Muhammad* (1830) by Samuel Bush, wherein the author confidently predicts the end of both Islam and the papacy in the year 1866. There was an overlap in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries between historical and literary analyses of the Middle Ages that, with all their faults, were still more or less intellectually honest attempts to recoup the past, and naked polemics, which still seem very, well, “medieval.”

In contrast to this avowedly Christian school of historiography, the less tendentious positivists—many of them Orientalists in both the good and the bad senses—did a far better job of elucidating the past than those in Zwemer’s circle. The mid-nineteenth century is still too early to look for commentary expressly focused upon Western views of Islam, but some of the great historical narratives, the *grands récits*, reveal an awareness of the importance of the subject. The French scholar Ernest Renan, who is one of Edward Said’s bêtes noires, was nonetheless one of the first to concern himself with the impact on the West of Arab thought and philosophy with his *Averroès et l’Averroïsme* (1852). Although Said is an unforgiving critic, displaying little of the empathy that he demands of those he attacks, it is altogether true that Renan was less than charitable towards Semitic peoples and that he is deserving of the attention Said devotes to him as one of the founding fathers of modern Orientalism.³⁰ But this is especially true of Renan the philologist. As a historian, he was bold and innovative. *Averroès et l’Averroïsme* is a monumental piece of scholarship, all the more so because it was ahead of its time in the sense that historians failed to follow his lead until the years between the two World Wars.³¹

Other nineteenth-century Orientalists exhibited a similar mix of questionable biases, good research habits, and occasionally prescient insights. In his great narrative, *Histoire des Mussulmans d'Espagne* (1861), Reinhart Dozy was at times remarkably sensitive to the contours of the Christian communities living in early medieval Spain. In the spring of 851, a monk named Isaac came down from the hills around Córdoba, walked into town, approached a Muslim *qadi* (judge), publicly denounced Muhammad, proclaimed the divinity of Christ, and was shortly thereafter beheaded for blasphemy.³² In the next 10 years nearly 50 more Christians from Córdoba rebelled against their Muslim overlords by getting themselves killed. Known to us through the account written by Eulogius, the bishop of Toledo, who himself died a martyr in 859, and through Eulogius's biography, written by Paul Alvarus, the history of the martyrs of Córdoba can serve as an interesting litmus test for gauging the approaches of scholars toward the medieval world.³³

On the one hand, it is true, as Said points out, that Dozy displayed an "impressive antipathy" to Arabs and Islam.³⁴ He characterizes local leaders as luxury-loving and lascivious, and he sympathizes with Alvarus's famous lament that talented young Christians were neglecting their Latin in order to perfect their Arabic.³⁵ On the other hand, parts of his analysis are thoroughly modern and still generally accepted. Among other things, for instance, Dozy condemns Eulogius for his fanaticism and for reporting scurrilous stories about the Prophet when he had a fine command of Arabic and the proper sources at his disposal.³⁶

There were other important *grands récits* that appeared before the outbreak of the Great War. At the same time Dozy was preparing his narrative of the Muslims in Spain, M. Amari was writing his *Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia*, 3 vols., (Florence, 1854–1868). In *Kulturgeschichte der Kreuzzuges* (Berlin, 1883), H. Prutz saw the crusades as the catalyst for a great deal of salubrious cultural diffusion, bringing to the West the best of Eastern riches and ideas. This is exactly the type of argument made by politically correct intellectuals today. P. O. Keicher provided a much more sober account than Reverend Zwemer of the career of Raymund Lull in *Raymundus Lullus und Seine Stellung zur Arabischen Philosophie* (Munster, 1909). And although some important American contributions began to appear for the first time,³⁷ as in so many things, it was not until after the war that the French, British, and Italian scholars, who continued to dominate the field, took any notice of the work being done across the Atlantic.

In the 1920s and 1930s, graduate programs in medieval studies continued to expand, and new journals were established such as *Studia Islamica*, *Al-Andalus*, and *Revue des Etudes Islamiques*. A new seriousness of purpose emerged, and most significant of all, so did a new measure of tolerance and a desire for mutual understanding. Richard Southern judged that "it was not

until the years between the two World Wars that a serious effort was made to understand the contributions of Islam to the development of Western thought, and the effect on Western society of the neighborhood of Islam."³⁸ Two works, in particular, stand out during this period. Both studies were in English. Both considered Western attitudes toward the Turks.

In *The Crescent and the Rose, Islam and England during the Renaissance* (Oxford, 1937), Samuel C. Chew attempted for the first time a comprehensive survey of British views as revealed in literature, drama, travelers' reports, and the lives of adventurers such as Sir Anthony Shelley—a courtier, soldier, and con man whose escapades took him from the Americas to Persia.³⁹ It is an extremely thorough and professional survey albeit given over more to exhaustive detailed descriptions than profound analysis. Chew portrays Renaissance Englishmen as enormously inquisitive, and he sees a gradual shift from religious to secular concerns, which leads to a less hysterical appraisal of the East. True, he lets slip the occasional stereotype. When commenting on the predicament of a seventeenth-century traveler who, when visiting Cairo, found it necessary to anchor his boat in the middle of the Nile so as not to be robbed, Chew opines that little has changed.⁴⁰

On the whole, however, his approach is reasonably balanced. He shows sympathy and criticism toward Christians and Muslims alike; he displays a healthy empathy toward the limitations of the Renaissance mind; and he is one of the first to notice the varied nature of past attitudes—an admission absent from other important studies such as those by Southern himself and Norman Daniel, who try to account for everything by forcing viewpoints into preestablished categories.

Chew's analysis was a departure in another way as well. Because he was interested in literature, theater, and travel—as opposed to anti-Muslim polemics—he was able to distinguish between elite and popular attitudes, which he does by looking at things like festivals *alla Turchesa* and the portrayal of Muslims on the London stage.⁴¹ Thus in his use of a variety of sources and his focus on the attitudes of different people from different classes, his study is an important advance that echoes contemporary historiographical developments among the Marxists and Annalists on the continent.

An equally innovative and important work is *The Turk in French History, Thought and Literature (1520–1660)* (Paris, 1941) by Clarence Dana Rouillard. Like Chew, Rouillard is interested in the points of contact between the French and the Turks and the ways in which these interactions were represented in French literature, especially travel literature. "My predominant aim," he explains, "is to see the Turk through the eyes of a sixteenth or seventeenth century Frenchman." He, too, uncovers a wide variety of attitudes—both elite and popular—but comments that for most Frenchmen, the Turk was a symbol of cruelty and lasciviousness.⁴² From a historiographical perspective, one of the

most interesting aspects of this work is the author's express desire for greater mutual understanding between Christians and Muslims. Taking care to highlight historical instances of tolerance, he tries to apologize for French racism by providing counterexamples and putting a positive spin on the past: "While there remains all through the period . . . a varying residue of medieval Christian hatred and blind prejudice against the Turks, it is now generally lifted from the Turks as men and confined to their religious beliefs."⁴³ Presumably this was reason for hope.

Be that as it may, Rouillard's somewhat forced optimism signals what will eventually become a major motif. The expression of such hope rises dramatically after World War II, reaches its peak during the Cold War, and continues to be the dominant attitude among those writing about Western views of Islam.

Thus serious efforts were being made to understand Islamic culture, and there is certainly value in listing the positive attributes that westerners saw in the Turks, who at various times were praised for their intelligence, education, manners, cleanliness, physical strength, honesty, honor, humanity, and tolerance, and whose cities were deemed marvels because of their civil and military order, administration of justice, sanitation, and arts.⁴⁴ Scholarly works, however, are not the place to remark that all religions are basically the same,⁴⁵ and Rouillard's insistence on the above points makes one suspicious when he asserts that French attitudes were ever improving. Eventually, of course, he goes too far, crowning Voltaire, the author of that scurrilous play *Mahomet*, as the "champion of tolerance."⁴⁶ In all fairness to Voltaire, his opinions vacillated, and he sometimes characterized the Prophet as a leader and a profound thinker; and in all fairness to Rouillard, on the whole, his book is extremely learned and a marked improvement upon the nineteenth-century Orientalist polemics that seem to linger even today.⁴⁷ Still, a writer must be cautious not to refashion the past in his ardent desire to shape the future.

Elsewhere in Europe, other attempts were made at comprehensive surveys. Richard Southern pointed to G. Théry, *Tolède Grande Ville de la Renaissance Médiévale, Point de juction entre les cultures musulmane et chrétien* (Oman, 1944) and Darío Rodríguez Cabanelas, *Juan de Segovia y el problema islamico* (1952) as seminal texts. The important volume by J. Füek should also be mentioned, *Die Arabischen Studien in Europe vom 12. bis in dem Anfang des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig, 1944), which follows up on the work of Prutz by tracing the cultural impact of East on West.⁴⁸ Although this type of history has been less evident in Germany than elsewhere, it is perhaps fitting that a country noted for the high quality of its Arabists should likewise produce the first study of Arab attitudes toward the West: *Islam und Christentum im Mittelalter, Beitrage zur Geschichte der muslimischen Polemik gegen*

das Christentum in arabischer Sprache (Breslau, 1930), by E. Fritsch. Still now at the end of the twentieth century, quality research concerning Eastern views of Europe is desperately needed.⁴⁹

The groundbreaking research of Marie-Thérèse d'Alverny was arguably the most influential of this entire period.⁵⁰ Much of what the medieval West knew of Islam came from various translations of the Qur'an and other Arabic texts located in the Toledan-Cluniac corpus, which d'Alverny thoroughly examined in an article that in some ways is still unsurpassed and that became the starting point for all subsequent analyses.⁵¹

The Italians made important contributions in these years as well. Ugo Monneret de Villard generated renewed interest in the subject with the publication of *Lo studio dell' Islam in Europa nel XII secolo, Studi e Testi*, 110 (Vatican, 1944). This short book, which includes an excellent bibliography of French, German, English, and Italian works, begins with the author's attempt to understand the various social and religious forces that produced such a man as Ricoldo da Monte Croce, who wrote a book on Islam at the beginning of the fourteenth century after having spent many years in Baghdad. On the whole, more than anything else, Monneret de Villard was interested in the progress of ideas. He begins with Peter the Venerable, whose self-justification he takes at face value, describing Peter as engaged in a crusade of the mind, attacking Islam in theory. This, he notes, is a step in the right direction compared to the attitudes of men like Guibert of Nogent (1054–1124) and Hildebertus de Lavardin (1055?–1133), whose implacable hostility to Islam precluded any intellectual rapprochement whatsoever.⁵² Monneret de Villard is himself a “step in the right direction,” both in the sense that his attempts to understand cultural relations of the past are linked to nothing more obdurate than a benign desire to improve cross-cultural understanding in the modern world, and in the sense that he is as sympathetic toward the medieval mind as he is toward Islam. Ultimately he concludes, somewhat hopefully, that a backlash against the crusades had set in by the thirteenth century and that European intellectuals had come a long way in the direction of understanding Islam as a religion and not just “a mere insolence.”⁵³

This search for the roots of tolerance is a trend in Italian historiography that continued after the war. In *L'Islamismo e la Cultura Europea* (Florence, 1956), a prosaic survey of attitudes toward Islam from the seventh to seventeenth century, Aldobrandino Malvezzi analyzed the causes of misunderstanding, arguing that errors about Islam have grave consequences not only because they retard the general progress of Italian culture, but also because the methods used so far to counter Islam seem to have had the opposite effect. He comments, for example, that Europeans have always exhibited the tendency to judge Islam by Catholic criteria. He corrects his readers by ex-

plaining that Islam is not materialistic; instead, it is trying to solve the same problems as Christianity and we ought not to criticize its methods just because they are different. Like many scholars in the following years, Malvezzi openly worries that lack of empathy has been a major obstacle in the spiritual, intellectual, and political rapport between Europe and the Muslim world. He calls for future generations to repair these misunderstandings in the spirit of peace, tolerance, and comprehension, a pragmatic approach that fully anticipates Vatican II.⁵⁴

It was in these same decades that interest in the subject was generated among North American scholars by Dana Carleton Munro, who examined "The Western Attitude Toward Islam During the Period of the Crusades" in his presidential address at the sixth annual meeting of the Medieval Academy of America in 1931.⁵⁵ Munro's essay is primarily descriptive. Like Monneret de Villard, he takes Peter the Venerable at his word, adding that Peter was in large part responsible for propagating the false beliefs about Islam that were held to so tenaciously in the following centuries. And like Richard Southern, for whom this piece is a clear antecedent, Munro sees a pattern of changing attitudes in the High Middle Ages from ignorance to hatred to a "decline in hatred." He too remarks upon the wide variety of Western attitudes and notes the juxtaposition of accurate information and false ideas about Islam.

Deliberate misrepresentation on the part of medieval writers who had access to accurate information has been an enduring issue in the historiography of premodern encounters between Europe and Islam. Not surprisingly, more than a little anti-Catholic venom bleeds through some of the analyses. At the turn of the century, for example, S. P. Scott was scornful in his description of the medieval Spanish clergy: "Their opinions on this subject they obtained from fanatical monks as ignorant as, and even more bigoted than, themselves. The sage conclusion that they arrived at from these researches was that the doctrines of the most uncompromising of monotheists and image-breakers were pagan idolatries."⁵⁶ By comparison, Munro remains detached. At one point in his narrative he recalls the work of Arnold of Lübeck, who knowingly falsified an account by Burchard of Strasbourg, an envoy sent by Frederick Barbarossa to the court of Salah al-Din. Upon his return, Burchard provided a remarkably accurate picture of Islam noting, among other things, Muslim attitudes toward Christ and the Virgin Mary, and explaining the Muslim belief that God was the Creator of all things and Muhammad was his most Holy Prophet. Yet in spite of quoting Burchard's account in detail, Arnold has Salah al-Din swear "by virtue of my god, Mohammed."⁵⁷ The president of the MAA recalls the story without comment.

But shortly thereafter, *Speculum* did in fact publish an otherwise solid article that was nearly as vehement as Scott's book. In his exploration of the

chansons de geste, a Canadian scholar, C. Meredith Jones, concluded that there was no better explanation for these misrepresentations than flagrant fanaticism.⁵⁸ To be sure, Jones makes some interesting and original observations. Comparing the chansons de geste with chronicles and various religious tracts, he is perhaps the first to suggest that “a traditional type of ‘Saracen’ was invented and reproduced endlessly,” that Western attitudes flowed more from literary sources than from actual contact with Muslims, and that stories about Muhammad were fabulous because “scholars sought their sources of information in popular opinions.”⁵⁹ He characterizes Peter the Venerable as a propagandist and zealot, and in general shows far greater sympathy for the medieval Muslim than he does for the European. For that matter, he displays contempt for medieval Christians in a fashion that can only be called Gibbonesque:

The invention of such hate-inspired episodes is one more reflection of the inabilities of the poets to devise anything really new. The medieval Christian is constantly offering bribes to his God. In song and in history he is always threatening him with the consequences of failure to grant prayers; he ravages his churches in order to vent his anger, even occasionally abuses God, and deliberately takes revenge on him.⁶⁰

Citing Stanley Lane-Poole,⁶¹ Jones argues that in reality the Saracens were more pious and trustworthy than their western counterparts, of whom he writes: “It never occurred to these medieval minds that the articles of belief might have in themselves a force sufficiently compelling to convince the heathen.”⁶² In the end, he concludes that the poems were willful and malicious misrepresentations, a summary that does not entirely fit with his observations about the way in which ideas were transmitted, but that reveals his desire to castigate and correct the Christians.

Jones’s approach is symptomatic of a number of (predominantly Protestant) writers who tend to associate Catholicism with a “medieval” world view. Beyond this, however, Jones exhibits a lack of empathy for medieval people that likewise characterizes a giant in this field: Norman Daniel.⁶³ And finally, it is not too much of a stretch to interpret Jones’s analysis as criticism of European and American policy toward communism. The author accepts the truth of the Christian (read liberal democratic) position, but rejects the use of force in favor of reasoned dialogue that will surely come out to the advantage of the West. This too foreshadows Daniel and Southern.

As the demand for oil increased in the fifties and sixties so too did interest in the Muslim world. Missionaries and academics alike encountered Islam with increasing frequency as the superpowers played out their agendas in the postcolonial world. And it is to these years that those interested in Western

views of Islam owe the production of two works which in their comprehensiveness have yet to be surpassed: Norman Daniel's *Islam and the West: The Making of an Image* (Edinburgh, 1960) and Richard Southern's *Western Views of Islam in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, Mass., and London, 1962).

Norman Daniel was nothing if not thorough. Today those approaching the topic for the first time must begin with *Islam and the West* and specialists must still take it into account. Daniel's books are mines of detail about the medieval sources and his bibliographies are indispensable. What higher praise could one hope for than Southern's acknowledgment that without Daniel to guide him he would not have attempted to explore the daunting subject in the first place?⁶⁴ And Edward Said would have been hard put to introduce *Orientalism* without the assistance of someone whose opinion of European arrogance so neatly matches his own. If one disregards Said's more sophisticated theoretical framework, then it's not difficult to imagine *Islam and the West* and *Orientalism* as the first and third in a series eagerly awaiting the publication of a second volume, devoted to a thorough flogging of European intellectuals from the Renaissance to the French Revolution.

Like Edward Said, Norman Daniel sees the Western canon of attitudes toward Islam as having been formed in the Middle Ages and transmitted unchanged into the modern world. The irony is that Daniel himself is something of a modern-day Ricoldo da Monte Croce, who compares the comportment of his countrymen unfavorably to the manners and customs of the Muslims he knew so well during his years in Cairo. (Ricoldo's experiences had been in Baghdad.) And like Ricoldo, Daniel was a committed Catholic whose desire to improve Western understanding was not wholly disconnected from his wish to better inform Muslims about their misunderstanding of the Trinity and the nature of Christ.

A few years before the publication of his *opus magnus*, Daniel gave a lecture to the Newman Association Graduate Division of the University Catholic Federation of Great Britain. Also on the panel was R. C. Zaehner, Spalding Professor of Eastern Religions and Ethics at Oxford.⁶⁵ Together they addressed the relations between Islam and Christianity past and present, in an effort to show that if Christians better understood the real earnestness and spirituality of Islam, then they could better explain to Muslims the earnestness, spirituality, and truth of Christianity. There was nothing subtle about it.

"It seems unlikely," Zaehner began, "that a merciful and rational God should confine all revelation of himself to a small Semitic tribe, leaving the rest of the world in darkness."⁶⁶ Then, having so cleverly demonstrated the historical parity of the two monotheistic traditions, he establishes his own tolerance by declaring that Muhammad's sincerity never should have been called into question. Instead we must start with "the as-

sumption that Mohammed was what he claimed to be . . . for unless this claim is in some degree conceded, there can be no hope of reaching any understanding with Muslims, anymore than Muslims can hope to understand us unless they accept the divinity of Christ.”⁶⁷ The central aim of the talk was to show that what the Qur’an says about Christ is correct and that Muslim thinkers have misinterpreted it, a position remarkably similar to that of certain medieval writers such as John of Segovia. In his conclusion, Zaehner commented that “even if Islam is a false religion, there is enough of Christian truth in the Koran for us to be sure that God’s providence in permitting the rise of Islam against Christianity is, even to our finite understanding, not wholly incomprehensible.”⁶⁸

I have quoted his fellow panelist at length neither to convict Daniel of guilt by association nor to provide supporting evidence for his thesis about the continued vitality of medieval attitudes in the modern world; simply, I wish to put into perspective Daniel’s genuine but finite empathy with Islam and his seemingly unmitigated criticism of the European mind. Daniel was a devout Catholic with long experience in the Muslim world. He was fascinated by Islam and determined to work out for himself an intellectual framework in which he could comfortably interact with his Muslim neighbors and colleagues, while at the same time protecting his own faith and maintaining his intellectual standing amongst the Dominicans with whom he worked. He despised those expatriates who closed themselves off from the Islamic culture that surrounded them even more than he loathed those back home who failed to engage themselves with Islam in any way; and he devoted his scholarship to understanding the medieval Christian encounter with Islam in order to trace the development of modern attitudes, understand the mechanism by which prejudices were formed, castigate the Catholic Church and European society for its shortsightedness and narrow-mindedness, and chart a new path for coping with the existence of a competing monotheism.

Daniel’s paper to the Newman Association was far more tolerant than Zaehner’s, and in terms of his appraisal of the medieval mind, it was more tolerant than the books he wrote later. His description of Islam is fair, and must have been enlightening if not a little unnerving to those assembled for the lecture. He praises the work of Montgomery Watt for its balanced approach, defends the Prophet against moral charges and allegations of hypocrisy, explains the tenets of Islam, then declares his belief in the Trinity and argues à la Zaehner that Muslims have misunderstood Jesus because they deny his divinity. “The central problem,” he declared, “is how to treat truth that is confused with error.”⁶⁹ In the mid-twentieth century theses intellectuals had moved away from a frontal attack on Islamic doctrine and had come to accept its partial truths—why would God have revealed his wisdom to a small

Semitic tribe if it contained no truth whatsoever?—and wished to further educate Muslims in order to bring them completely into the light.

Daniel's feelings toward his fellow Europeans are unambiguous. In Europe, "where Muslims do not penetrate," people may shut their minds to Islam, "but for Catholics whose lives take them among or into touch with Islamic peoples such an attitude . . . would not begin to satisfy the requirements of fruitful intercourse."⁷⁰ (Ironically these words remind me of Edward Said's cynical and unwarranted attack on Bernard Lewis for the alleged sexual imagery in his language, and it is telling that the author of *Orientalism* chose not to deconstruct Daniel in a similar fashion.)⁷¹ Daniel adds that Christians living in Muslim countries must decide what their relations with Muslims are going to be:

The first alternative is one adopted by many Occidentals: to have no relations at all, to cut themselves off and live exclusively in the society of their compatriots. This is parochial, unrealistic, uncharitable, a childish hiding away from the world. The next alternative is to have friendly worldly relations, but to exclude serious matters; that is what most people do, but it does not solve any important problem. Finally, it is possible to begin a process of mutual information between Christians and Muslims, which above all things is what is needed. It is essential to find some means of genuine communication. From a religious point of view, we cannot withhold Christ; it will be a terrible responsibility to answer for, if we so maintain our own faith as to exclude others from it; insist on giving it a colour gratifying to ourselves, and so present it as to blind others to the truth.⁷²

Daniel's contempt for the medieval mind simultaneously reveals the patronizing Orientalist stereotypes that lurk just below the surface of his enlightened posturing: "(In the nineteenth century) awareness of the fatalism of the East became more marked than it had been in the Middle Ages; it may be that the medievals like Orientals of all periods were more resigned themselves to the will of God, and therefore noticed it less."⁷³ Praising the work of Gardet, Massignon, and Nicholson, he particularly likes, of all people, K. Cragg, then editor of *The Moslem World*, and he leaves no doubt as to the true value of gaining a better understanding of Islam:

We must learn about Islam from Muslims, and learn dispassionately . . . putting ourselves as much as we can outside our own traditions. Christians may expect in return the opportunity to teach. If we are to learn what Muslims have to say about themselves, we may impart what we have to say about ourselves. . . . It is accepted that the truth held by non-Catholics, which we all call Catholic truths, since all truth is Catholic, are sometimes held more firmly than we hold them ourselves. I think that Muslims in their lives gen-

erally submit with reverence to Providence better than we do, and are more aware of God's government in everyday things. We must not take such discoveries as this with patronizing approval, but with humility. We have to ask why, with the benefits of the whole truth and sacraments of grace, we are still inferior in observance. . . . Those who are truly confident that they have the truth need not fear the ultimate result of imparting it. Conversion may not follow, but it cannot possibly precede, the day when prejudice and hatred on both sides have been dispelled.⁷⁴

The author's words, which he makes no attempt to disavow in later books, speak for themselves and require no further explication on my part.⁷⁵ I would like to add, however, that it is precisely Daniel's religious enthusiasm that is the source of his deep respect for Islam. The comment that Said made about Massignon is entirely apropos: "He reconstructed and defended Islam against Europe on the one hand and against its own orthodoxy on the other. This intervention—for it was that—into the Orient as animator and champion symbolized his own acceptance of the Orient's difference, as well as his efforts to change it into what he wanted."⁷⁶

Daniel's erudition is unassailable. His thorough familiarity with the sources is a monument to scholarship—something that also speaks for itself. But the context is not there. He variously describes the people he calls "medievals" as brutal, violent, aggressive, vulgar, intolerant, xenophobic, ignorant, narrow-minded, and culturally arrogant.⁷⁷ And by and large he's speaking of the intellectuals! Of course Daniel's assessment is not altogether untrue, but at times he expects of his "medievals" enlightened attitudes that one would be hard-pressed to find exhibited in any overwhelming fashion amongst many Christians today.⁷⁸ Moreover, it is inaccurate to suggest that all medieval Europeans lacked the tolerance and humanity that Daniel finds so in evidence in the Arab world.⁷⁹ Even his disclaimers—which are few and far between—are rounded off by generalizations. For the most part he insists that Western attitudes form a "canon" or "integrated view" that has been transmitted intact to the modern world.⁸⁰

To take one example, seeing nothing but irrational fanaticism, Daniel makes no attempt to understand the ninth-century martyrs of Cordova from their perspective.⁸¹ Their implacable "hatred for Islam," he argues, led to a "total rejection of the Arab world." The whole martyrs' movement was a "sustained effort to break the few links that existed between the two religions." The martyr's political theory maintained that "Christianity cannot exist side by side with any other religion; and the martyrs practiced the theory with a logic untempered by common sense." And it was this theory that "prefigured . . . the attitude of Europeans, and especially of the more educated, towards Islam, throughout the Middle Ages . . . and into the present century."⁸²

More than anything else, the martyrs simply did not want to know about Islam, which is unforgivable in the eyes of this ever-curious scholar.⁸³ Again and again he accuses the Europeans of being “indifferent.” Daniel has the tendency to argue with medieval intellectuals as if they were sitting across the table from him; one can almost hear him haranguing some hapless expatriate at a dinner party. Westerners do not care about Islam, they know nothing, they make no effort to learn. In short, Daniel was “politically correct” before the coining of the term. Yet while his desire for what we now call “multiculturalism” is laudable, his will to change the world leads him to associate intolerable medieval ignorance and indifference with intolerable modern ignorance and indifference.⁸⁴ For that matter, in the introduction to *The Arabs and Medieval Europe*, he makes the point that periodization is arbitrary and that the continuity of European history is paramount: “If we have to choose a date to end the western European Middle Age, we might do worse than take 1939.”⁸⁵ And elsewhere: “We need to keep in mind how medieval Christendom argued, because it has always been and still is part of the make-up of every Western mind brought to bear upon this subject.”⁸⁶

Daniel is anti-Freudian and anti-Marxist and parodies what he calls “scientific-atheist” points of view. “In actual fact,” he writes, “the orthodox Communist attitude resembles not only that of the modern imperialist but also that of the medieval ‘feudalist.’”⁸⁷ Some socialists have lashed back. “To a historian like Norman Daniel,” wrote Maxime Rodinson, “only a mind tainted by medievalism or imperialism could criticize the moral attitudes of the Prophet, and he accuses of being the same sort of thing, any exposition that uses the normal mechanisms of human history to explain Islam and its characteristics. Understanding has given way to apologetics.”⁸⁸

In his last major work, Daniel turned his attention to the chansons de geste in an effort to understand popular views of Islam.⁸⁹ The change in tone is striking. From a hard-hearted, rather elitist position, he moves to an extremely sympathetic view of the medieval European. If it were not for the thoroughness of his research and the profound familiarity with the sources, one would think that this study was written by a different man. The harangues disappear. So does the insistence that European attitudes were homogenous. There is an acute awareness of the differences between the intellectuals and the common folk, and a distinction is made between the sources themselves and the ways in which people actually thought and acted. His judgment of Peter the Venerable, for example, softens considerably. In the space of 25 years Peter went from being smug, excessively theoretical, unrealistic, careless in his scholarship, and somewhat less than intellectually honest to someone whose “sensitivity and rare awareness of cultural differences contrasts with his failure, so far as we know, to turn his moving and in many ways well-judged appeal to Muslims

into Arabic." Still, in both cases Peter is the honorable exception. This alone says a lot about the shift in Daniel's view.⁹⁰

In his later work Daniel shows himself to be sensitive to the medieval mind in a way that C. Meredith Jones failed to transcend. He abandons the term "medievals," cautions against being patronizing, and calls for a "willing suspension of unbelief" when reading the chansons, adding: "When the poet shows a happy indifference to facts, we can take pleasure from it only by being happy and indifferent too."⁹¹ Rarely does one see such a remarkable change in a scholar's feelings towards his subject matter. Here Daniel argues, correctly, that Jones was wrong to see fanaticism everywhere, that yes, the poets did know the Saracens, that there was a notable discrepancy between their realities and the way that they are depicted in the chansons, but that this should not be seen as a form of propaganda or willful distortion; rather, this is fiction, a joke, a caricature, and should be understood as such.⁹² In other words, "The ignorance of the poem tells us nothing about the knowledge of the poet."⁹³ Although there is no way of knowing what the theologians thought about this genre of "historical fiction," it is certain that the poems do not reflect the official Christian theological and polemic attitude to Arabs and Muslims. "The songs are not Crusade propaganda, as I once believed, but they are good propaganda for a life of daring and adventure."⁹⁴ True to form, Daniel still criticizes the theologians, but as with Peter the Venerable, he softens considerably, going so far as to say that some of them were actually tolerant souls.⁹⁵

Whereas Daniel noted the similarities between Eastern and Western religious culture, Richard Southern was more attuned to the differences, characterizing Christendom and Islam as societies that were "extraordinarily unlike from almost every point of view."⁹⁶ Southern had high regard for Daniel's scholarship, but he still felt that an additional overview would be useful, more than anything else, in order to summarize the work that had been done between 1945 and 1961, which is when he delivered his set of lectures on the subject at Harvard. In Southern's opinion, the topic had for all intents and purposes lain dormant during the 75 years following the publication of Ernest Renan's *Averroès et l'Averroïsme* (1852), which he greatly admired. As mentioned above, Edward Said reserved a special place in his inferno for Mr. Renan,⁹⁷ but Southern's enthusiasm reflects his own decidedly positivist view of the problem, reflected in his division of Western attitudes into three progressive stages: the Age of Ignorance (to the mid-twelfth century), the Century of Reason and Hope (to the late thirteenth century), and the Moment of Vision (to the mid-fifteenth century). His observation that one cannot expect to find in the Middle Ages "that spirit of detached and academic or humane inquiry which has characterized much of the inquiry about Islam of the last hundred years" was not meant to be ironic.⁹⁸

The strength of Southern's account is that he is sensitive to the nuances of medieval culture. So, for example, he treats the martyrs of Cordova with clarity and tolerance:

If they saw and understood little of what went on round them, and if they knew nothing of Islam as a religion, it was because they wished to know nothing. The situation of an oppressed and unpopular minority within a minority is not a suitable one for scientific inquiry into the true position of the oppressor.⁹⁹

Southern was not nearly so passionate on the subject as Daniel; rather, he did his best to maintain the detached spirit of inquiry that he admired in Renan.

The weakness of this approach is that Southern's vision of the past is overly contingent upon his concerns for the future.¹⁰⁰ Southern calls the existence of Islam "the most far-reaching problem in medieval Christendom," in the same way the existence of communism was for him the most far-reaching problem in the modern West, a comparison he makes explicitly: "The greatest practical problem of our time is the problem of the juxtaposition of incompatible and largely hostile systems of thought, morals, and beliefs embodied in political powers of impressive, not to say awe-inspiring, size."¹⁰¹ He worries about demagogues and praises responsible thought, fearing that the ignorance of popular opinion will manifest itself among the political intelligentsia the way it did in Pope Innocent III's crusade sermons—and in the years leading up to World War II.¹⁰² The realization in the 1940s and 1950s that communism would not be defeated, that in fact Marxism was on the march throughout the Third World, and that even at home intellectuals were speaking the language of the left, was mirrored in Southern's late thirteenth century by the collapse of the crusades, the awareness that the Mongols were converting to Islam, and the hearty reception in Christendom of the thought of Al-Farabi, Ibn Sîna (Avicenna), and Ibn Rushd (Averroës).¹⁰³ Ultimately it is best to renounce violence, to become reconciled to the existence of a hostile system, and to try to ameliorate the tensions with intelligence and dialogue, which is how John of Segovia and Nicholas of Cusa reacted in the mid-fifteenth century when they renounced the crusades and called for critical editions of the Qur'an as a means to better understand and more effectively engage the enemy.¹⁰⁴

In the thirteenth century, Roger Bacon came to the conclusion that once the proper arguments against Islam had been formulated it would, in Southern's words, "wither away."¹⁰⁵

John of Segovia saw that this was mistaken. . . . He was, I think. The first man of peace to grasp that missions to convert Islam were doomed to fail-

ure. The first problem to be faced was therefore the problem of a new kind of communication. The main purpose of his letters was to suggest a new approach. To describe this he used an old word in a new form, and with a new sense. It is a word which has come in our own day to be heavy with meaning—the word “conference” or, as John of Segovia accurately, if pedantically, put it, *contraferentia*.¹⁰⁶

Southern goes on to remark that the word *contraferentia* “was probably coined by John of Segovia to distinguish the projected meeting of hostile parties from the friendly,” adding that “he saw the conference as an instrument with a political as well as a strictly religious function, and in words which will strike a chord in modern breasts he exclaimed that even if it were to last ten years it would be less expensive and less damaging than war.”¹⁰⁷ This was Southern’s moment of vision. One need only substitute the word *détente* for *contraferentia* to complete the image.

Interest in Western views of Islam has continued to grow since Daniel and Southern published their surveys, but the results, to a large extent, have been conference papers, articles, and monographs. A new overview is needed—one that takes into account the theoretical positions that have emerged in the last 25 years; but the task is daunting—especially because the new theoretical considerations themselves mitigate against the publication of all-inclusive surveys. Studies of premodern Europe in general have become increasingly fragmented since the early 1960s. One reason is that the decline of Marxism, the end of the Cold War, and the adoption of mixed economics in the West has decreased the tendency of scholars to ask the big *why* questions.¹⁰⁸ Yet following the collapse of the Soviet Union, there is some evidence that this trend is reversing itself precisely in the realm of East-West relations. It remains to be seen whether this generation of scholars will be able to avoid getting caught up, consciously or unconsciously, in overarching ideological frameworks.

The first major studies after Southern’s were concerned not with medieval views of Islam but with the Renaissance image of the Turk. The terminological shift alone—from “Saracen” to “Turk” and “Moor”—recalls the changing outlook of western Europeans and the changing geopolitical shape of the Mediterranean world.¹⁰⁹ Whereas most studies of medieval attitudes depend upon clerical polemics and troubadour poetry, and are centered in southwestern Europe at a time when Europe itself was only partially Christianized and fighting crusades inside and out, studies of Renaissance attitudes have more sources to draw upon and sweep across the whole of Europe at a time when the threat of Islam was as much political as it was religious.

As noted earlier, this path was first lit in the 1930s and 1940s by Samuel C. Chew and Clarence Dana Rouillard, who examined the image of the

Turk in English and French literature respectively. Spanish literature, drama, and poetry was covered, in turn, by Albert Mas, whose massive study has yet to be superseded.¹¹⁰ Mas found that Turkish themes were most prevalent in Spanish literature in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, that is, after the battle of Lepanto (1572). Before then they appeared—much like the Saracens in the *chansons de geste*—as stock characters whose inevitable defeat was meant to highlight the bravery of the Christians and the glory of their rulers; in other words, anti-Turkish tendencies were picked up from medieval literature and placed in the present in the same way that, according to some writers, medieval anti-Muslim themes are still being represented in the Western media and in modern popular culture.

On the whole, Mas provides an extremely evenhanded and dispassionate analysis. True, the author holds a special place for Cervantes, whom he praises for at least trying to understand Islam, and for being able to make a distinction between religion and the people who practiced it,¹¹¹ but it would be churlish not to forgive him a passing remark in what is otherwise a notably balanced account. Only in his conclusion does he momentarily step away from the material to observe, perhaps a bit defensively, that given the continued existence of fanaticism in the present age, it is all the more impressive that the Renaissance produced a few generous spirits who tried to better serve humanity by moving beyond racial and religious barriers.¹¹² Such sentiments, proclaimed far more openly, would become the norm for the next generation. Mas was writing at a time when historians and literary critics were still in some cases clinging to the old ideal of objectivity that, despite being attacked from all sides, continued to survive for another decade until it was at long last laid to rest in its postmodern winding sheets.

Alongside Mas's work, a second study appeared, written by Robert Schwoebel, which likewise in its methodology and its outlook acted as something of a transition between the neopositivism of the postwar years and the relativism of the post-Foucault years.¹¹³ Schwoebel's analysis is more nuanced than previous surveys, in that it moves easily amongst the variety of Renaissance images of the Turk. Whereas Southern was casually conscious of Cold War ideology, he nonetheless permitted the style of his lectures to shape his reconstruction of the past. By comparison Schwoebel is more aware of the implications of ideology. He marks the parallels of past and present without letting them dominate the evidence. In this regard he criticizes Southern implicitly. "It is understandable," he writes, "in light of recent history and our present concern for world peace, that scholars should emphasize the pragmatic and scholarly approaches to the Turkish problem in the Renaissance. Certainly the ideas of Juan de Segovia or Nicholas of Cusa are more congenial to our generation than those of the crusade proponents. It would be misleading, however, to imply that the benevolent or even the re-

alistic viewpoints were widespread in the half-century following the fall of Constantinople.”¹¹⁴

In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, as in the twentieth, both sides claimed they were charged with a divine mission and that their respective regimes offered the best hope for humanity.¹¹⁵ Both sides believed they were engaged in an all out struggle for survival. Both were determined to supplant the other's way of life. There were political, economic, and social as well as ideological differences, and although there were diplomatic exchanges and periods of uneasy peace, the ruling parties tended to favor a military solution. Still, throughout the years of tension there were continued mercantile and cultural exchanges. Characteristically, Schwoebel points out the major differences as well, viz., the Ottomans were *not* totalitarian, and the monarchies in the West were *not* democratic. Finally, he explains, whether at peace or at war, both sides were sensitive to public opinion, hence they promoted their policies with propaganda at home and abroad.¹¹⁶

This last point is key, because until the publication of *The Shadow and the Crescent*, historians had continued to focus on whether or not Western accounts of the Muslim world were deliberately falsified. The same battle was being fought over the chansons de geste. Were the Saracens typecast as a form of ideological propaganda? It seemed impossible to believe that such monstrous distortions about Islam could be perpetuated out of ignorance, especially in the face of credible evidence to the contrary, which was being brought back to Europe by diplomats, merchants, pilgrims, soldiers, and captives. How could the humanist Pius II (Aneas Sylvius Piccolomini) have had such an entirely ill-informed opinion about Islam? Surely his rhetoric was tied to his calls for a crusade. And if so, this would have been reactionary rather than “visionary,” which is how Southern described it.¹¹⁷

Schwoebel deftly shows that the gracious letter to Mehmed II, which is the evidence Southern relied upon, was a singular exception to the Pope's usual stance and to that of other churchmen and intellectuals such as Cardinal Bessarion.¹¹⁸ Given the fact that Pius II and other propagandists were desperately trying to affirm and shore up the common corps of Christendom, it is not surprising that scholars focused on the medieval view should see in it a high degree of homogeneity; after all, this was precisely the point that the churchmen were trying to make. Schwoebel's contribution is that he uses the abject failure of Pius's crusade to examine diversity of opinion in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, a development made possible, on the one hand, by Marxist and Annalist trends in scholarship that opened the door to new sources and encouraged researchers to ask questions about nonelites; and on the other hand, by his decision to focus on the late Middle Ages and the early modern period, when varied views were increasingly evident thanks to the new historiographical techniques of the humanists, the gradual secularization of

European politics, and the changing nature of the Turkish threat, which was gradually becoming more political than ideological.

Some historians had argued that the princes of Europe were unreceptive to the Pope's entreaties because Europe in general was relatively unconcerned about the fall of Constantinople.¹¹⁹ But Schwoebel and others insist that while the success of a crusade would depend upon the Venetians, a crusade was not necessarily in their best interests, especially without the full backing of the other powers, something they readily explained to the Pope. As opposed to focusing on the pronouncements of the church, by examining the reactions of average Europeans through apocryphal accounts and popular ballads such as the *lamenti di Constantinopoli*, Schwoebel demonstrates that there was a sense of fear, guilt, and insecurity in Europe. He argues, naturally enough, that one's concern about the Turkish problem was in direct proportion to one's proximity to the frontier,¹²⁰ but while this is not exactly earth-shattering, it is something entirely missing from the analyses of earlier scholars. Europe was *not*, after all, homogenous.

Likewise, Schwoebel takes the opportunity to address the issue of the continuation of medieval worldviews, which he does in an empathetic and balanced fashion. He shows that Western views of Islam depended upon a wide variety of key factors, that ignorant and informed writers worked side by side, that some ideas were continuations of the Middle Ages, that in some cases similar prejudices were formed independently for entirely new reasons, and that there were genuine attempts to see the Turks in a more understanding or, if you will, a more Christian light. Like their medieval predecessors, the Renaissance popes attributed their failure to realize a new crusade to the sinfulness of Christians, but this in no way diminished the ardor with which they preached. They could not see that the lack of action on the part of princes was actually the result of changing political and social structures. Thus, the author observes, since they were "unable to understand their own milieu, we can hardly expect them to offer anything new concerning their Muslim opponents."¹²¹

Beyond this, Schwoebel provides some extremely interesting (and highly relevant) insights into the nature of Renaissance historiography. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, some of those scholars writing about the Turks contributed to the genesis of modern historiography, because as agents of Western powers (La Broquière), or as captives of the Turks (George of Hungary), or as individuals in pursuit of wealth (Spandugino), they showed that it was worthwhile to write about the Turks and that another culture could be studied successfully by outsiders.¹²² Schwoebel contends that even Orientalists "of the worst stripe" performed a useful function, to the extent that although they were unaware of their own biases, they nonetheless launched a more critical methodology by rehabilitating historical studies

based upon firsthand observation, a development that Momigliano described as “the first contribution of modern historiography to an independent study of the past.”¹²³ But why then did these serious scholars continue to support outdated medieval ideas such as holy war? Why were they unable to break the chains of orthodoxy and reevaluate contemporary attitudes toward non-Christians in the light of this new firsthand evidence? Because, Schwoebel explains, this was precisely where the ancients failed them. Plutarch, it will be remembered, had criticized Herodotus for being too sympathetic to the barbarians. Generally speaking, the ancient Greek and Roman historians were every bit as prejudiced against outsiders as the Renaissance writers for whom they served as models.¹²⁴

Some of the same issues raised in regards to Renaissance writers were examined by scholars interested in the Reformers’ perspective on Islam. The debate was not new. As we saw above, those in *The Moslem World* circle had been publishing articles on Luther and Islam since before World War II,¹²⁵ but a new critical apparatus was brought to bear on the problem in the 1950s and 1960s, along with a certain irony and detachment that was lacking in earlier studies. The sectarianism, at any rate, was far less palpable.

Plays, histories, diplomatic reports, pamphlets, news reports, popular songs, learned essays, travelers’ tales: following the invention of the printing press more Europeans had more information about Islam than ever before.¹²⁶ Not all of it was particularly trustworthy. As Kenneth Setton has pointed out, because the study of Arabic declined markedly between the mid-fourteenth and the mid-seventeenth centuries, much nonsense continued to be written, which is hardly surprising, he adds, since “the mentality of the period was much less critical even than that of our own time.”¹²⁷ Nonetheless, the growing number of texts made available for a growing number of readers kept the Turks before the eyes of the public in a way that would have been impossible at the time of the crusades.¹²⁸

In any case, if one considers the range of ideas espoused by Luther, Calvin, the Zurich Reformers, the Anabaptists, and sundry followers and imitators, it is easy to see how historians working on this period were struck by a diversity of opinion that seems to foreshadow the modern era.¹²⁹ One’s view of Islam depended upon class, region, denomination, level of contact and, of course, level of personal interest.¹³⁰ Paul Coles argues that Balkan peasants and Greek islanders frequently welcomed the Turks as liberators from the severe economic oppression of their Western masters, an unfortunate circumstance that he explains by observing that these unlikely creatures were “half eastern” anyway.¹³¹ Setton argues that most Germans did not give much thought to the Turks at all until after they defeated the Hungarians at Mohács in 1526. Even then public attitudes had shifted somewhat from those of the Middle Ages. Whereas Luther, like many medieval writers,

tended to see the Turks and Islam in general as a punishment from God, Setton shows that public opinion was changing in the sense that instead of calling for a new crusade, most Germans felt that the war against the Turks should be fought by the state. Furthermore, on a cultural/religious level, he makes the point that there was more disdain for the Christian Turks—who should have known better and become Protestants—than there was for the Muslim Turks, who really did not know any better.¹³²

In his later work, Setton's analyses similarly rest upon the assumption that early modern merchants and politicians always operated on the basis of reasoned self-interest. He notes, for instance, that while the Turkish defeats at Malta and Lepanto were welcomed in England, they were a far greater relief in Spain, Italy, and Austria; simultaneously, there was a subsequent rise of anti-Catholic feeling in Istanbul "which played into the hands of the Protestants and, as time passed, proved of no small commercial advantage to England and Holland, where the upper bourgeois could easily moderate their hostility to Islam."¹³³ Setton sees political and economic self-interest coming to the fore in the sixteenth century, a significant shift from the medieval world where even businessmen and politicians put God before profits.

This is an old debate. Several generations of scholars have more or less agreed that the Ottomans "saved" Protestantism¹³⁴—which is yet another way of saying that the West would not have "risen" if it were not for Islam—but there is far less agreement as to how Europeans reacted. Pointing to the diplomacy of Francis I and Elizabeth I, positivists of an earlier era generally believed that as the unity of Christendom broke down in the sixteenth century, secular attitudes gradually emerged that transformed the Turk from an enemy of Christ into an enemy of the nation; but when literary critics such as Samuel C. Chew took up the question, they found that distorted medieval perceptions about Islam were still well represented in Tudor culture. Rouillard explained the apparent discrepancy by trying to show that popular opinion lagged far behind that of intellectuals and diplomats.¹³⁵ It must be kept in mind, however, as mentioned above, that Rouillard was searching for the roots of tolerance. By looking at peace treaties, diplomatic correspondence, treatises on international law, and ecclesiastical pronouncements, Franklin Baumer was able to show that even after the "diplomatic revolution" of the sixteenth century, many statesmen, clergy, and publicists continued to advance timeworn misconceptions.¹³⁶

Kenneth Setton's work reflects current trends in historiography to the extent that even his well documented and authoritative account of Western views is tied to contemporary concerns. In the introduction to *Western Hostility to Islam*, the author explicitly connects his decision to publish the book to recent turmoil in the Middle East, and to what he

sees as "increasing Islamic hostility to the West."¹³⁷ It would be going too far to place Setton into the "clash of civilizations" camp, but he is clearly more pessimistic than hopeful. Like so many modern writers, he wonders how it is possible that increased interaction did not lead to better comprehension, making the entirely understandable but false assumption that an objective knowledge of Islam will thereby lead to more dispassionate judgments.¹³⁸ "Both Christians and Muslims have done each other much evil," he sighs, "but for centuries we have waited in vain for some good to come of it all."¹³⁹

Since the 1960s, the vast majority of the work that has been done on Western views of Islam in the premodern period reveals, on some level, a desire to enhance mutual understanding by exploring the origins and development of past attitudes. Some surveys that have appeared recently are uncomfortably sectarian in the old style of *The Moslem World*.¹⁴⁰ Others are similarly sectarian from the Catholic side.¹⁴¹ Still others are anti-western in the extreme.¹⁴² Most, however, are intellectually honest attempts to cope with a set of problems that these scholars see as the most pressing of the late twentieth century. Nearly the entire body of work by W. Montgomery Watt following the publication of his still well respected volumes of the life of the Prophet fall into this category.¹⁴³ Like Norman Daniel, Watt was politically correct before it became fashionable; but unlike Daniel, who maintained high standards of scholarship even as his moral passion abated, Watt's last book, which is an impassioned call for cross-cultural dialogue, lacks the scholarly apparatus of his earlier works.¹⁴⁴

This is not to say that a desire for mutual understanding necessarily mitigates against quality research. The clearest example of this is the excellent work that has been published in the last 25 years by some of the scholars associated with the *Centre d'Etudes Pour Le Dialogue Islamo-Chrétien* at the Pontificio Istituto di Studi Arabi e Islamici.¹⁴⁵ The institute's journal, *Islamochristiana*, first published in 1975, is absolutely essential for anyone working on Christian views of Islam, most significantly because of its *Bibliographie du dialogue Islamochrétien*, edited by Robert Caspar, which is a comprehensive bibliography of medieval Latin writers followed by Byzantine and Muslim authors, Arab Christians, Armenians, Georgians, and finally, in the last volume, Christian authors writing in Syriac.¹⁴⁶ And following a conference held in Cairo in 1990, the most renowned scholar associated with the institute, Georges Anawati, published a thin volume summarizing medieval attitudes toward Islam that includes an indispensable bibliography of secondary sources.¹⁴⁷

A series of books have appeared in recent years concerning Western views of Islam in the premodern period.¹⁴⁸ Many of these share the hope of dialogue and mutual understanding, but there is another trend, most noticeable

in France—where the lines between popular history and scholarship have never been as clear cut as in other nations—which seeks to capitalize on contemporary fears of cultural assimilation. Works such as those by Phillippe Sénac are readable and reasonably well-informed, but positive images of Muslims are few and far between, and the threat posed by Islam in the past is sensationalized in a way that serves to reinforce contemporary stereotypes.¹⁴⁹ In one recent book, for example, Sénac and his coauthor, Carlos Laliena, describe Christian and Muslim communities in medieval Aragon as if the sociocultural barriers between them were impenetrable.¹⁵⁰ On one side of the mountain were the Muslims, who saw the Christians as polytheists; on the other, the Christians, who saw the Muslims as pagans; and in between, perforce, a no-man's-land, a medieval demilitarized zone that separated the communities to everyone's relief. While there is some truth to this depiction, the lines are drawn too severely and the intercultural interstices are largely forgotten. Here, too, it would be overstating the case to call this a "clash of civilizations" model—if anything the most tendentious scholarship of that genre is to be found among the "anti-Orientalists."¹⁵¹ Still, whereas those writers wishing for mutual understanding tend to present their hopes up front, here the assumptions remain unstated so that many readers, especially nonspecialists, may well be confirmed in their biases without having had the benefit of fair warning.

Maybe we are not even framing the question properly. Although many attribute the rise of a Western identity to the recognition of Islam as "other,"¹⁵² it is easy to overemphasize the role of works such as the chansons de geste or the anti-Turkish broadsides of the sixteenth century in the establishment of European public opinion. Most studies of medieval Christendom have *not* emphasized the fear of Islam as the formative factor. As John Van Engen has pointed out, "In its most basic sense . . . the word *Christianitas* referred neither to an ecclesiastical polity nor to opponents of Islam but to the religious faith and practice that medieval men entirely presupposed when elaborating their policies and philosophical propositions."¹⁵³

On the other hand, to the extent that Westerners were concerned with the East, Edward Said is absolutely correct: the Orient *was* experienced through stereotypes that, in turn, shaped the language, perception, and form of the encounter between Europe and Islam.¹⁵⁴ Unfortunately, the recognition that all representations are representations does not get us very far. More than anything else, our attempts to recover past attitudes desperately lack a sufficient theoretical framework. Said spotted the trail but fell into the trap. "He who assumes a West assumes an East."¹⁵⁵

In his follow-up to Theodor Arno's classic study on ethnocentrism,¹⁵⁶ M. Rokeach examined the links between the closed mind and a neurotic sense of

threat, demonstrating that people's responses to foreign cultures cannot be separated from their total behavior.¹⁵⁷ Scholars interested in cross-cultural encounters should integrate this type of work into their research.

Urs Bitterli, for example, in his studies of encounters between Europeans and Africans in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, brings into play what he calls *Geistesgeschichte*, which is something of a mix between the history of ideas and the *histoire des mentalités*.¹⁵⁸ Bitterli is interested not so much in the events themselves, but in the ways in which those involved perceived their experiences and reported them through travel narratives, scientific treatises, and other sources. Source-texts are significant to the extent that they are produced by the confluence of the author's individuality and the uniqueness of the events he describes. To put it another way, Bitterli divides three types of encounters—contacts, collisions, relationships—into two aspects: the phenomenology of the encounter, which is the experience reconstructed within the context of political, economic, and social history, and the intellectual reflection on the encounter, which produces the source-text.¹⁵⁹ Combined with the insights of sociologists like Arno and Rokeach, a framework emerges that informs not only our understanding of premodern attitudes, but also our understanding of how we experience the past. As we have seen, one's feelings about the Middle Ages and about European culture in general determines to a great extent the empathy one brings to his or her research of past mentalities.

In another theoretical study, Partha Mitter suggests that cross-cultural encounters are subject to two principle variables: collective representations and personal psychology. Memory is guided by classification, which lies at the heart of perception; hence "cultural perception," which mediates between us and other, is necessarily tied up in the use of stereotypes. In effect, there is no other way that we can make sense of alien cultures.¹⁶⁰ How else can we expect Europeans to view Islam? (How else can we expect historians to view the past?) Mitter cites a beautiful example of the process of cultural perception from a previous study.¹⁶¹ When the English traveler Sir Thomas Herbert visited a Hindu temple in the early seventeenth century, he had every opportunity to garner his own impressions, but in his writings he lifted the description of the temple whole cloth from the sixteenth-century Italian traveler Ludovico di Varthema, the reason being, Mitter explains, that the encounter was so unfamiliar to Herbert, the Hindu images so threatening, that he was simply unable to digest the experience in a new and meaningful manner and unable to modify the preconceptions that he brought with him to the encounter.¹⁶² Thus stereotypes are cognitive devices for coming to terms with the alien. This goes a long way towards explaining what has mystified so many scholars viz., the seemingly impossible fact that premodern perceptions did not always become more accurate as more information became available.

Cultural relativism does not take its first tentative steps until the appearance of Father Lafitau's *Moeurs des sauvages américains* (1724), and Vico's *New Science* (1725), wherein human nature is characterized as a process of accumulating knowledge and deepening understanding.¹⁶³ Not infrequently we expect too much of our ancestors.

Among other things, Mitter emphasizes that stereotypes are needed to make sense of the unfamiliar and should not be dismissed as mere prejudices. A thorough comprehension of these psychosocial mechanisms is crucial to our interpretation of cross-cultural encounters past and present. Urs Bitterli came to the same conclusions:

Given the pervasiveness of stereotyping one might ask skeptically whether it is possible to understand another culture at all. . . . [but] one can accept this truism without yielding to outright skepticism. Perception, understanding and representation are all obliged to use stereotypes. Stereotypes are not falsehoods, but simplified models which are necessary if we are to cope with the multiplicity of experience. The error lies not in using stereotypes, but in supposing that stereotypes are fully adequate representations . . . it is possible, though difficult, to use stereotypes in a critical and tentative manner, as frames within which the Other can be perceived and described with precision. By such methods another culture can be accurately understood and represented; but this can only be done from an observer's specific historical standpoint, and within the conventions of representation that the observer employs.¹⁶⁴

Fear, hatred, curiosity, indifference, grudging respect: all of these attitudes surfaced, disappeared, resurfaced, and existed side by side in the pre-modern West. A plurality of opinion was the inevitable result of an intellectual climate that valued information about the East regardless of whether or not that knowledge was linked to power. The same can be said of contemporary opinion. On some levels there is far more intellectual and cultural parity among Mediterranean cultures today than there was in the years between Vico and Vichy. There was perhaps never a time when East and West were so alienated as the eighteenth, nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, an era of military expansion and contraction when the effects of the Enlightenment were making themselves felt, when Europe was in the throes of political upheaval, when the industrial revolution had gained enough momentum to push Europe into the modern era, when technology was still too unsophisticated and the Middle East and North Africa too poor and too backwards to experience the homogenizing effects of global capital and culture. Fulcher of Chartres' wonder at the way in which "Occidentals were becoming Orientals" could have been made by a Roman centurion or a University of Michigan exchange student, but not by Lord Cromer. The

gap was at its widest in the colonial period and it would be incautious to project those views into an earlier era.

Some medieval attitudes survived in some quarters; some were resurrected at various times and places for reasons that may or may not have been the same as before; some apparent connections are false; others, tenuous; some ideas appear now and then but for entirely different reasons and in different forms. And all the while our interpretations of these beliefs are buffeted about by our own cultural perceptions.

I began this "brief" history of past approaches with Nicholas of Cusa's observations that an unknowable universal truth is best approached through a variety of interpretations. Nicholas's aims were higher than mine here. Ironically, however, if we want to understand the reality of premodern perceptions, postmodernism has left us little choice but to approach the past from all sides, even if we have lost confidence in universals. The certainty of the positivists and neo-positivists is gone, the discipline is fragmented, important monographs are being produced on an impressive range of problems, there is much left to be done, and the definitive history of East-West encounters may never be written.

Notes

1. Benjamin Disraeli, *Tancred: or, The new crusade* (London, 1847).
2. Edward Said, *Orientalism* (London and New York, 1995), 5, 295. First published in 1978. For an alternative view of the same problem, see Albert Hourani, *Islam in European Thought* (Cambridge, 1991).
3. For an excellent summary of this debate, see John M. MacKenzie, *Orientalism. History, Theory and the Arts* (Manchester and New York, 1995), 1–42.
4. Fulcher of Chartres, *A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem, 1095–1127*, trans. Frances Rita Ryan (Knoxville, 1969), 271.
5. See John Meyendorff, "Byzantine Views of Islam," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 18 (1964): 115–132; John C. Lamoreaux, "Early Eastern Christian Responses to Islam," in *Medieval Perceptions of Islam: A Book of Essays*, ed. John Tolan (New York and London, 1996).
6. For an interesting discussion of the concepts "East" and "West," see Bernard Lewis, *Cultures in Conflict. Christians, Muslims, and Jews in the Age of Discovery* (New York and Oxford, 1995), 63–79.
7. On Christian identity, see Raoul Manselli, "*La respublica christiana e l'Islam*," in *L'Occidente e l'Islam nell'alto medioevo* (Spoleto, 1965), 115–147. On European identity, see Robert Bartlett, *The Making of Europe. Conquest, Colonization and Cultural Change, 950–1350* (Princeton, 1993); Denis Hay, *Europe: The Emergence of an Idea*, 2d edition (Edinburgh, 1968); Pim den Boer, "Europe to 1914: the making of an idea," in *The History of the Idea of Europe*, eds. Kevin Wilson and Jan van der Dussen (London and New York,

- 1995), 13–82; and Gerard Delanty, *Inventing Europe. Idea, Identity, Reality* (New York, 1995).
8. Lee Patterson, "On the Margin: Postmodernism, Ironic History, and Medieval Studies," *Speculum* 65 (1990): 87–108, especially 88–91. On postmodern views of history, see Lee Patterson, "Literary History," in *Critical Terms for Literary Study*, ed. Frank Lentricchia and Thomas McLaughlin (Chicago and London, 1990), 250–262; Linda Hutcheon, *A Poetics of Postmodernism: History, Theory, Fiction* (London, 1988); Jean-Francois Lyotard, *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge*, trans. Geoff Bennington and Brian Massumi (Manchester, 1984); and Frederic Jameson, "Postmodernism, or the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism," *New Left Review* 146 (1984): 53–92.
 9. "On the Margin," 90. "In the ironic history of a *historicist* postmodernism, the hierarchical Modernist binarism of present and past is rewritten as difference."
 10. On the reaction of the profession to theoretical trends in sociology and literary criticism, see Peter Novick, *That Noble Dream. The "Objectivity Question" and the American Historical Profession* (Cambridge and New York, 1988), 522–628. On the fragmentation of the discipline, see Bernard Bailyn, "The Challenge of Modern Historiography," *American Historical Review* 87 (1982): 1–24 and, from a medievalist's perspective, Georges Duby, *Hommes et structures du moyen âge* (Paris, 1973).
 11. This view can generally be found among members of the anti-Orientalist school, see Said, *Orientalism*, 55–62; Hichern Djait, *Europe and Islam* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, 1985), 9–20; Rana Kabbani, *Europe's Myths of Orient. Devise and Rule* (London, 1986), 14–22.
 12. Kabbani, *Europe's Myths of Orient*, 10.
 13. Norman Daniel, *Islam and the West: The Making of an Image* (Edinburgh, 1960), 271–307. "We are entitled to say that this canon was formed during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and the earlier part of the fourteenth, by the absorption of Oriental, Byzantine, and Mozarab traditions and, to a lesser extent or experience. By the middle of the fourteenth century it was firmly established in Europe; and it was to continue into the future so powerfully as to affect many generations, even up to the present day" (275). Towards the end of the chapter Daniel exonerates academics to a certain extent (294–301).
 14. The President of the Medieval Academy of America, Dana Carleton Munro, used "Islam" and "Mohammedanism" interchangeably when he addressed the sixth annual meeting in 1931. For the text of the address, which was a knowledgeable, positivist reading of crusades, see *Speculum* 6 (1931), 329–343. For a similar usage, see Samuel C. Chew, *The Crescent and the Rose* (Oxford, 1937). Reprinted in New York in 1965.
 15. Maxime Rodinson, *Europe and the Mystique of Islam*, trans. Roger Veinus (London, 1988). First published as *La Fascination de l'Islam* in 1980.
 16. B. Ziolecki, *Alexandre du Pont's Roman de Mahomet, ein alfranzösisches Gedicht des XIII. Jahrhundert* (Paris, 1831), trans. Ch. Pellat and reprinted

- in *En Terre d'Islam* (3rd trimestre, 1943); Alessandro d'Ancona, "La leggenda di Maometto in Occidente," *Giornale storico de letteratura italiana* 13 (1889), 199ff. Reprinted in *Studii de Criticae Storia Letteraria* (Bologna, 1912). See also E. Doutté, *Mahomet Cardinal* (Chalons-sur-Marne, 1889), an excerpt with commentary of a fifteenth-century French poem that tells the legend of Muhammad as a renegade Roman cardinal; René Basset, "Hercule et Mahomet," *Journal des Savants* (July, 1903): 391 ff.; P. Alphandery, "Mahomet-Antéchrist dans le Moyen Âge Latin" in *Mélanges Hartwig Derenbourg* (Paris, 1909).
17. See for example P. Casanova, "Mahom, Jupin, Appolon, Tervagent, dieux des Arabes," in *Mélanges Hartwig Derenbourg* (Paris, 1909), 391ff., who argues (unsuccessfully) that the names of these deities were mistaken corruptions of Arabic words.
 18. Gaston Paris, "La légende de Salah al-Din," *Journal des savants* (1893): 4 ff. and "Un poème latin contemporain sur saladin," *Revue de l'Orient latin* 1 (1893): 433 ff. For a recent and complete analysis of the Salah al-Din legend, see John V. Tolan, "Mirror of Chivalry: Salah al-Din in the Medieval European Imagination," in *Medieval Perceptions of Islam: A Book of Essays*, ed. John Tolan (New York and London, 1996), 7–38.
 19. See E. Dreesbach, *Der Orient in der altfranzösischen Kreuzzugliteratur* (Breslau, 1901); and Pierre Martino, *L'Orient dans la littérature française* (Paris, 1906), which has a decent section on medieval and early modern literature.
 20. M. Asín y Palacios, *Escatología Musulmana en la Divina Comedia* (Madrid, 1919).
 21. R. A. Nicholson, "Mysticism," in *The Legacy of Islam*, eds. Thomas Arnold and Alfred Guillaume (Oxford, 1931), 210–238.
 22. Chew, *The Crescent and the Rose*, 410, note 1.
 23. Chew, *The Crescent and the Rose*, 410, note 1. For a summary of the debate, see especially Alison Morgan, *Dante and the Medieval Other World* (Cambridge, 1990) as well as V. Cantarino, "Dante and Islam: History and Analyses of a Controversy," in *Alighieri Dante., Symposium Series in the Romance Languages and Literatures* (Chapel Hill, 1965). On the same topic, see V. Cantarino, "Dante and Islam. Theory of Light in the Paradisio," *Kentucky Romance Quarterly* (1968), L. Olschki, "Muhammedan Eschatology and Dante's Other World," *Comparative Literature* 3 (1951): 1–17; and M. Rodinson, "Dante et l'Islam d'après des travaux récents," *Revue d'Histoire des Religions* 139 (1951): 203–236. Most importantly, see Enrico Cerulli, *Il "Libro della Scala" e la questione delle fonti Arabospagnole della Divina Commedia*, Studi e testi 150 (Rome, 1949). See also Marcia Colish, "The Virtuous Pagan: Dante and the Christian tradition," in *The Unbounded Community, Papers in Christian ecumenism in honor of Jaroslav Pelikan*, eds. Duncan Fisher and William Caferro (New York, 1996).
 24. For the text, see Edouard Montet, "Un rituel d'abjuration des musulmans dans l'église grecque," *Revue d'Histoire des Religions* 53 (1906): 145–63, followed by the commentary of F. Cumont, "L'origine de la formule grèque

- d'abjuration imposée auz musulmans," *Revue d'Histoire des Religions* 64 (1911). For a fascinating analysis of this issue, see Craig L. Hanson, "Manuel I Comnenus and the 'God of Muhammad': A Study in Byzantine Ecclesiastical Politics," in *Medieval Christian Perceptions of Islam*, 55–82.
25. See E. W. Platzeck, *Raimond Lull: Sein Leben—Seine Werke—Die Grundlagen seines Denkens*, 2 vols. (Düsseldorf, 1962–1964) and R. Brummer, *Bibliographia Lulliana: Ramon-Lull-Schriftum, 1870–1973* (Hildesheim, 1976).
 26. One of the issues that needs to be examined in the historiography of this problem is this tendency among some scholars to create the "other" in their discourses on the European past, see for example Fred C. Robinson, "Medieval, the Middle Ages," *Speculum* 59 (1984): 745–56.
 27. Samuel Zwemer, *Raymond Lull. First Missionary to the Moslems* (New York, 1902), 8–9.
 28. Zwemer, *Raymond Lull*, 155–56.
 29. G. Simon, "Luther's Attitude Toward Islam," *The Moslem World* 21 (1931): 257.
 30. Said, *Orientalism*, see especially 130–56. It is worth noting here that Said, who understands Orientalism in its most narrow sense as a "field of study," believes that it began in 1312 with the Church Council of Vienne, which aimed to establish a series of chairs in Oriental languages at various European universities (49–50).
 31. R. W. Southern, *Western Views of Islam in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, Mass. and London, 1962), 1–2.
 32. Kenneth Baxter Wolf, "Christian Views of Islam in Early Medieval Spain," in *Medieval Christian Perceptions of Islam*, 95.
 33. For the works of Eulogius and Paul Alverus, see *Patrologia cursus completus series Latina*, vol. 115, 705–870 and vol. 121, 397–566. On the movement see C. M. Sage, *Paul Albar of Cordoba: Studies on his Life and Writings* (1943), and J. Madoz, *Epistolario de Alvaro de Cordoba* (1947), cited by Southern, *Western Views of Islam*, 22, note 18. More recently see Kenneth Baxter Wolf, *Christian Martyrs in Muslim Spain* (Cambridge, 1987); Edward Colbert, "The Martyrs of Córdoba (850–859): A Study of the Sources," (Washington, D.C., 1962); and Franz R. Franke, "Die freiwilligen Märtyrer von Cordova und das Veraltnis des Mozarabes zum Islam (nach den Schriften von Speraindeo. Eulogius und Alvar), *Spanische Forschungen des Görresgesellschaft* 13 (1953): 1–170.
 34. Said, *Orientalism*, 151.
 35. "The Christians love to read the poems and romances of the Arabs; they study the Arab theologians and philosophers, not to refute them but to form a correct and elegant Arabic. Where is the layman who now reads the Latin commentaries on the Holy Scriptures, or who studies the Gospels, prophets or apostles? Alas! All talented young Christians read and study with enthusiasm the Arab books; they gather immense libraries at great expense; they despise the Christian literature as unworthy of attention. They have forgotten their language. For every one who can write a letter in Latin to a friend,

there are a thousand who can express themselves in Arabic with elegance, and write better poems in this language than the Arabs themselves." Paul Alvarus, *Indiculus Luminosus, Patrologia cursus completus series Latina* vol. 121, 555–556, quoted by Dozy, *Histoire des Mussulmans d'Espagne, jusqu'à la conquête de l'Andalousie par les Almoravides* (Leiden, 1861), vol. 1, 317, and cited by Southern, *Western Views of Islam*, 21.

36. *Histoire des Mussulmans d'Espagne*, vol. 2, 102–109.
37. Cf. C. H. Haskins and D. P. Lockwood, "The Sicilian Translators of the Twelfth Century and the First Latin Version of Ptolemy's *Almagest*," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 21 (1910).
38. Southern, *Western Views of Islam*, 2.
39. Here I will be referring to the reprint (New York, 1965). See also from this period, Clare Howard, *English Travellers of the Renaissance* (London, 1914); Warner G. Rice, "Early English Travellers to Greece and the Levant," in *Essays and Studies in English Comparative Literature by Members of the English Department of the University of Michigan* (Ann Arbor, 1933); Byron Porter Smith, *Islam in English Literature* (Beirut, 1939); Robert Munster and Clyde Gross, *Englishmen Abroad: Being an Account of Their Travels in the Seventeenth Century* (London, ca. 1940); and Boles Penrose, *Travel and Discovery in the Renaissance 1420–1620* (Cambridge, Mass., 1952). More recent works include Christian K. Zacher, *Curiosity and Pilgrimage: The Literature of Discovery in Fourteenth-Century England* (Baltimore, 1976); Donald R. Howard, *Writers and Pilgrims: Medieval Pilgrimage Narratives and Their Posterity* (Berkeley, 1980); Urs Bitterli, *Encounters between European and Non-European Cultures, 1492–1800*, trans. Ritchie Robertson (Cambridge, Mass., 1988); Mary B. Campbell, *The Witness and the Other World: Exotic European Travel Writing, 800–1600* (Cornell, 1988); Jack D'Amico, *The Moor in English Renaissance Drama* (Tampa, Fla., 1991); and Anthony Pagden, *European Encounters with the New World* (New Haven and London, 1993).
40. Chew, *The Crescent and the Rose*, 88.
41. *The Crescent and the Rose*, 452–540.
42. Clarence Dana Rouillard, *The Turk in French History*, 7, 37, 641–45.
43. *The Turk in French History*, 291.
44. *The Turk in French History*, 291.
45. *The Turk in French History*, 400–402.
46. *The Turk in French History*, 351. For a similarly apologetic stance, see D. Haddidi, *Voltaire et l'Islam* (Paris, 1974).
47. See for instance Said's chapter entitled "Orientalism Now," in *Orientalism*, 199–328, as well as the afterward of the 1995 edition, 329–54.
48. Cf. *Kulturgeschichte der Kreuzzuges* (Berlin, 1883). For other German contributions see Dreesbach, *Der Orient in der altfranzösischen Kreuzzugslitteratur*; P. O. Keicher, *Raymundus Lullus und Seine Stellung zur Arabischen Philosophie* (Munster, 1909); B. Altaner, "Zur Geshichte der anti-Islamischen Polemik während des 13. und 14. Jahrhunderts," *Historische Jahrbuch der Görres gesellschaft* 556 (1936): 227–33; and more recently, H. Schipperges, *Die Assimilation der*

- arabeschen Medizin durch das lateinische Mittlealter* (Wiesbaden, 1964); E. Eickhoff, *Seekrieg und Seepolitik zwischen Islam und Abendland* (Berlin, 1966); and Ekkehart Rotter, *Abendland und Sarazen. Das okzidentale Araberbild und seine Entstehung im Frühmittelalter* (Berlin and New York, 1986).
49. See Thabit Abdullah, "Arab Views of Northern Europeans in Medieval History and Geography," in *Images of the Other*, 73–80; Elizabeth Sartain, "Medieval Muslim-European Relations: Islamic Juristic Theory and Chancery Practice," in *Images of the Other*, 81–95; Oaima Abou-Bakr, "The Religious Other: Christian Images in Sufi Poetry," in *Images of the Other*, 96–108; Aziz al-Azmeh, "Barbarians in Arab Eyes," *Past and Present* 134 (1992): 3–18; W. Montgomery Watt, *Muslim-Christian Encounters: Perceptions and Misperceptions* (London, 1991); Amin Maalouf, *Les croisades vues par les Arabes* (Paris, 1983). Also see Bernard Lewis, *The Muslim Discovery of Europe* (London, 1982); *Arab Historians of the Crusades*, ed. F. Gabrieli (Berkeley, 1969).
 50. Marie-Thérèse d'Alverny, "Deux traductions latines du Coran au Moyen Âge," *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Âge* 16 (1948): 69–131.
 51. Cf. J. Kritzeck, "Robert of Ketton's translation of the Koran," *Islamic Quarterly* 2 (1955): 309–12.
 52. *Lo studio dell'Islam*, 8–20.
 53. *Lo studio dell'Islam*, 71–77.
 54. *L'Islamismo*, 328–30.
 55. Munro, *Speculum* 6 (1931): 329–43.
 56. S. P. Scott, *History of the Moorish Empire in Europe*, vol. 3, (Philadelphia, 1904), 203.
 57. Munro, "The Western Attitude Toward Islam," 338.
 58. C. Meredith Jones, "The Conventional Saracen of the Songs of the Geste," *Speculum* 17 (1942): 201–25.
 59. "The Conventional Saracen," 202–204, 225.
 60. "The Conventional Saracen," 213.
 61. Stanley Lane-Poole, *Salah al-Din* (London, 1898).
 62. "The Conventional Saracen," 223.
 63. Ultimately Daniel corrects Jones's view on the intentions of the poets, see *Heroes and Saracens. An Interpretation of the Chansons de gestes* (Edinburgh, 1984). See also Paul Bancourt, *Les Musulmans dans les Chansons de geste du Cycle de Roi* (Provence, 1982); and Barbara P. Edmonds, "Le portrait des Sarrasins dans la Chanson de Roland," *The French Review* 44 (1971): 870–88.
 64. Southern, *Western Views of Islam*, preface.
 65. "The Church and Islam," *The Dublin Review* (Winter, 1957), 271–312; Part I, R.C. Zaehner, "Islam and Christ," 271–288, Part II, N. Daniel, "The Development of the Christian Attitude to Islam," 289–312.
 66. Zaehner, "Islam and Christ," 271.
 67. "Islam and Christ," 273–74.

68. "Islam and Christ," 288.
69. "The Development of the Christian Attitude to Islam," 292.
70. "The Development of the Christian Attitude to Islam," 292.
71. Said, *Orientalism*, pp. 314–16.
72. "The Development of the Christian Attitude to Islam," 307.
73. "The Development of the Christian Attitude to Islam," 305–306.
74. "The Development of the Christian Attitude to Islam," 309–11.
75. Cf. *Islam and the West*, 301–307.
76. *Orientalism*, 272.
77. Norman Daniel, *The Arabs and Medieval Europe*, 33, 115–20, 123, 130–31, 134–37, 144, 149, 207–209, 213, 231–34, 254.
78. Cf. *Islam and the West*, 271–72.
79. Cf. *The Arabs and Medieval Europe*, 65, 138, 206.
80. *Islam and the West*, 3, 161, 232, 252, 271–302; *The Arabs and Medieval Europe*, 115, 206, 249, 311, 323–30.
81. *The Arabs and Medieval Europe*, 23–48.
82. Quotations from *Islam and the West*, 32, 37, 48.
83. *The Arabs and Medieval Europe*, 32, 62, 74–75.
84. *Islam and the West*, 271–307; Norman Daniel, *The Arabs and Medieval Europe* (London, 1975) 12, 15–16, 32, 39–45, 62, 74–75, 79, 88–95, 143, 155, 198, 214, 220–221, 280, 323–30.
85. Daniel, *Arabs and Medieval Europe*, 2.
86. Daniel, *Arabs and Medieval Europe*, 301.
87. *Islam and the West*, 302.
88. Maxime Rodinson, *Europe and the Mystique of Islam*, 75.
89. Daniel, *Heroes and Saracens*.
90. *Islam and the West*, 48, 54–57; *Heroes and Saracens*, 11.
91. *Heroes and Saracens*, 16–18.
92. Two years before the appearance of Jones's article, William Wistar Comfort had argued an intermediate position. Like Daniel, he saw the Saracens of the chansons de geste as literary types, but like Jones he criticizes the poets for their intolerance, for not knowing better, and for using the chansons as a form of anti-Muslim propaganda, "The Literary Role of the Saracens in the French Epic," *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* 55 (1940): 621–59.
93. *Heroes and Saracens*, 19.
94. *Heroes and Saracens*, 266–67.
95. *Heroes and Saracens*, 276.
96. Southern, *Western Views of Islam in the Middle Ages*, 7.
97. *Orientalism*, especially 130–57.
98. *Western Views of Islam*, 3.
99. *Western Views of Islam*, 25.
100. Southern argued for the linkage of history to contemporary events in *The Shapes and Influence of Academic History* (Oxford, 1961). The same argument

was made several years earlier by E. N. Johnson, "American Mediaevalists and Today," *Speculum* 28 (1953): 844–54.

101. *Western Views of Islam*, 2–3.
102. *Western Views of Islam*, 42.
103. *Western Views of Islam*, 34–66.
104. *Western Views of Islam*, 86–94.
105. *Western Views of Islam*, 61.
106. *Western Views of Islam*, 91.
107. *Western Views of Islam*, 91–92 and note 39.
108. Lawrence Stone, "The Revival of Narrative: Reflections on a New Old History," *Past and Present* 85 (1979): 9.
109. Daniel suggested that "Saracen" in the sense of Muslim was replaced by "Turk," while "Saracen" in the sense of "Arab" was replaced by "Moor," *Heroes and Saracens*, 8–9.
110. Albert Mas, *Les Turcs dans la littérature espagnole du siècle d'or (Recherches sur l'évolution d'un thème littéraire)*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1967).
111. *Les Turcs dans la littérature espagnole*, vol. 1, 299–335.
112. *Les Turcs dans la littérature espagnole*, vol. 2, 471.
113. Robert Schwoebel, *The Shadow and the Crescent: The Renaissance Image of the Turk (1453–1517)* (Nieuwkoop, 1967).
114. *The Shadow and the Crescent*, 225.
115. *The Shadow and the Crescent*, ix.
116. *The Shadow and the Crescent*, ix.
117. *Western Views of Islam*, 98–103.
118. *The Shadow and the Crescent*, 65–73.
119. "The fifteenth century Germans, like their western neighbors, were in general unperturbed by the fall of Constantinople and subsequent enslavement of the Balkan peninsula by the Turks. Except for a few scattered pamphlets condemning the conquerors for their religion rather than their aggressions, the Germans did not express disapproval of the changes occurring in south-eastern Europe; nor did they advocate any action against the Infidels." Stephen Fischer-Galaati, *Ottoman Imperialism and German Protestantism, 1521–1555*. (Cambridge, 1959), 9. See also M. Gilmore, *The World of Humanism (1453–1517)* (New York, 1952); S. Runciman, *The Fall of Constantinople, 1453* (Cambridge, 1965).
120. Paul Coles argued the opposite, i.e., that fear and loathing increased as one moved westward away from the frontier, *The Ottoman Impact on Europe* (New York, 1968), 145–53.
121. *The Shadow of the Crescent*, 147–48.
122. *The Shadow of the Crescent*, 226.
123. A. Momigliano, *Studies in Historiography* (New York, 1966), 137, cited by Schwoebel, *The Shadow of the Crescent*, 148.
124. *The Shadow of the Crescent*, 148.
125. Simon, "Luther's Attitude toward Islam," *The Moslem World* 21 (1931): 257–262.

126. Cf. Carl Göliner, *Turcia: Die europäischen Türkendrucke des XVI Jahrhunderts*, 2 vols. (Busharest, Berlin, 1961) and André Vouard, *Les Turqueries dans la littérature française* (Paris, 1959).
127. Keneth Setton, *Western Hostility to Islam and the Prophecies of Turkish Doom* (Philadelphia, 1992), 14, 17.
128. Schwoebel, *The Shadow of the Crescent*, 166. "Among those who aided in disseminating and perpetuating the conception of the Turk as the bloodthirsty foe of Christ and Plato, a crucial role was played by the scholar-publishers—pioneers of the first half-century of printing. Combining a sharp eye for business, a passion for scholarship, and some spiritual concern for the moral issues of the day, they quickly yielded their presses in defense of the faith. Publishing reports of the Ottoman advance, the tales of travelers, histories, and a wide variety of publicist pieces, the printers kept the Turkish peril before the eyes of an ever-expanding reading public. Although it cannot be said that the *Türkenfurcht* was mainly the product of their publishing ventures, it was certainly true that their printed texts, often accompanied by pictorial illustrations, further stimulated the sense of crisis. The large volume of works made available for the new reading public of the Renaissance presented the Eastern peril in terms and proportions inconceivable in the Middle Ages. Thus in the fifteenth century the Turk became a more immediate threat owing not alone to his geographical proximity, but as the result of the technological revolution in printing."
129. Victor Segesvary, *L'Islam et la Réforme. Etude sur l'attitude des Réformateurs zurichois envers l'Islam (1510–1550)* (Lausanne, 1977) includes an excellent bibliography of both primary and secondary sources. On the attitudes of Calvin, see J. Pannier, "Calvin et les Turcs," *Revue Historique* 180 (1937): 268–86.
130. Cf. Stephen Fischer-Galati, "The Protestant Reformation and Islam," in *The Mutual Effects of the Islamic and Judeo-Christian Worlds: The East European Pattern* (New York, 1969), 53–64.
131. Coles, *The Ottoman Impact on Europe*, 145.
132. Kenneth Setton, "Lutherism and the Turkish Peril," *Balkan Studies* 3 (1962): 133–168.
133. *Western Hostility to Islam*, 43–44. See also *The Papacy and the Levant 1204–1571*. 4 vols. (Philadelphia 1978–1984).
134. Cf. Stephen A. Fisher-Galati, *Ottoman Imperialism and German Protestantism, 1521–1555* (Cambridge, 1959), which includes a good bibliography, and Fischer-Galati, "Ottoman Imperialism and the Lutheran Struggle for Recognition in Germany, 1520–1529," *Church History* 23 (1954): 46–67. See also George W. Forrell, "Luther and the War Against the Turks," *Church History* 14 (1945).
135. *The Turk in French History*.
136. "England, the Turk, and the Common Corps of Christendom," *American Historical Review* 50 (1944–45): 26–48. See also N. H. Hantsch, *Le problème de la lutte contre l'invasion turque dans l'idée politique de Charles Quint*

- (Paris, 1959). See also Joseph Lecler, *Histoire de la tolérance au siècle de la Réforme* (Paris, 1994). First published in 1955.
137. Kenneth Setton, *Western Hostility to Islam and Prophecies of Turkish Doom* (Philadelphia, 1992), 1, note 1.
 138. *Western Hostility to Islam*, 47.
 139. *Western Hostility to Islam*, preface.
 140. Cf. James Thayer Addison, *The Christian Approach to the Moslem* (New York, 1966). First published in 1942.
 141. Cf. Jean Marie Gaudel, *Encounters and Clashes. Islam and Christianity in History* (Rome, 1984). In his preface the author explains that he wrote the book "to meet the needs of Christians and Pastors who wish to dispel the cloud of misunderstanding existing between Christians and Muslims so that the light of Christ may shine without distortion or hindrance." Gaudel worked at the *Pontificio Istituto di Studi arabi e Islamici*.
 142. Cf. Hichem Djait, *L'Europe et l'Islam* (Paris, 1978) and Rana Kabbani, *Europe's Myths of Orient. Devise and Rule* (London, 1986), who feels that "a literature of travel cannot but imply a colonial relationship. The claim is that one travels to learn but really, one travels to exercise power over land, women, peoples" (10).
 143. On some levels even *Muhammad at Mecca* (Oxford, 1953) and *Muhammad at Medina* (Oxford, 1956) are attempts to bridge misunderstandings, as was his earlier book, *Free Will and Predestination in Early Islam* (London, 1948). But here I am thinking of "L'Influence de l'Islam sur l'Europe médiévale," *Revue des Études Islamiques* 40 (1972): 7–41, 297–327 and 41 (1973): 127–56; "Muhammad in the Eyes of the West," *Boston University Journal* 22 (Fall 1974): 61–69; *The Influence of Islam on Medieval Europe* (Edinburgh, 1972), which is a short summary of the state of scholarship on this subject.
 144. W. Montgomery Watt, *Muslim-Christian Encounters* (1991).
 145. A similar Catholic scholarly initiative is the French *Groupe de Recherches Islamo-Chrétien*, which publishes a series called *Orient-Orientations*. See for example Père Michel Lelong, *L'Eglise Catholique et l'Islam* (Paris, 1993).
 146. *Islamochristiana* 1 (1975): 125–81; 2 (1976): 187–249; 3 (1977): 255–86; 4 (1978): 247–67; 5 (1979): 299–317; 6 (1980): 259–99; 7 (1981): 299–307; 10 (1984): 273–92.
 147. *Islam e Cristianesimo: l'Incontro tra due culture nell' Occidente medievale* (Milan, 1994). See also on this subject, Anawati's important book *Polémique, apologie et dialogue Islamo-chrétiens. Positions classiques médiévales et positions contemporaines* (Rome, 1969).
 148. Cf. *Images of the Other*, ed. Blanks (1997); *Medieval Perceptions of Islam*, ed., Tolan (1996); Bernard Lewis, *Cultures in Conflict: Christians, Muslims and Jews in the Age of Discovery* (New York and Oxford, 1995); *Orientalistische Kultur und europäische Mittelalter* (Berlin, 1995) (conference proceedings); *The Introduction of Arabic Philosophy into Europe*, eds. Charles E. Butterworth and Blake Andrée Kessel (Leiden, New York, and Cologne,

- 1994); Felice Dassetto, *L'Islam in Europa* (Torino, 1994); Bettina Munzel, *Feinde, Nachbarn, Bündnispartner, Themen und Formen der Darstellung christlich-muslimischer Begegnungen in ausgewählten historiographischen, Quellen des Islamischen Spanien* (Münster, 1994); *Dialogo filosofico-religioso entre christianismo, judaismo e islamismo durante la edad medi en la península ibérica I actes du colloque international de San Lorenzo de El Escorial, 21–23 juin 1991*, ed. Horacio Santiago-Otero (Turnout, Belgium, 1994); Roger Arnaldez, *A la croisée des trois monothéismes* (Paris, 1993); Jean Flori, *La première croisade: l'Occident chrétien contre l'Islam: aux origines des idéologies occidentales, 1095–1099* (Brussels and Paris, 1992); B. Reilly, *The Contest of Christian and Muslim Spain, 1031–1157* (Oxford, 1992); Tolède, XIIe–XIIIe. *Musulmans, chrétiens et juifs: le savoir et la tolérance*, ed., L. Cardaillac (Paris, 1991); Ron Barkai, *Cristianos y musulmanes en la España medieval (el enemigo en le espejo)* 2d ed. (Madrid, 1991); *Conversion and Continuity: Indigenous Christian Communities in Islamic Lands, Eighth to Eighteenth Centuries*, ed., M. Gervers and R. Bikhazi (Toronto, 1990); P. Guichard, *Les musulmans de Valence et la reconquête (Xie–XIIIe siècles)* (Damascus, 1990); *Muslims under Latin Rule, 1100–1300*, ed., James Powell (Princeton, 1990); Mikel de Epalza, *Jésus otage: juifs, chrétiens et musulmans en Espagne, Vie–VIIe siècle* (Paris, 1987); Ekkehart Rotter, *Abendland und Sarazenen* (Berlin and New York, 1986); Kenneth Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant, 1204–1571*, 4 vols. (1978–1984); D. Millet-Gérard, *Chrétiens mozarabes et culture islamique dans l'Espagne des viiie–ixe siècles* (Paris, 1984); Benjamin Kedar, *Crusade and Mission: European Approaches Toward the Muslim* (Princeton, 1984); *Islam et chrétiens du Midi: XIIe–XIVe siècles*, 18th Colloque de Fanjeux (Toulouse, 1983); Anwar G. Chejne, *Islam and the West: The Moriscos, A Cultural and Social History* (Albany, 1983); Donald Howard, *Writers and Pilgrims. Medieval Pilgrimage Narrative and their Posterity* (Berkeley, 1980); *Islam and the Medieval West. Aspects of Intercultural Relations*, ed. Khalil Seeman (New York, 1980); Thomas Glick, *Islamic and Christian Spain in the Early Middle Ages: Comparative Perspectives on Social and Cultural Formation* (Princeton, 1979); J. Richard, *Les relations entre l'Occident et l'Orient au Moyen Age* (London, 1977); and Dorothee Medlitzki, *The Matter of Araby in Medieval England* (New Haven, Conn., 1977).
149. Phillipe Sénac, *Frontières et espaces pyrénéens au Moyen Age* (Perpignan, 1992); *L'image de l'autre, Histoire de l'Occident médiévale face à l'Islam* (Paris, 1983); *Provence et piraterie sarrazine* (Paris, 1982); *Musulmans et Sarrasins dans le sud de la Gaule: VII–XI siècles* (Paris, 1980).
 150. Phillipe Sénac and Carlos Laliena, *Musulmans et Chrétiens dans le Haut Moyen Age: aux Origines de la Reconquête Aragonaise* (Paris, 1991). For another example of this type of work see Pierre Tucoo-Chala, *Quand l'Islam était aux portes des Pyrénées* (Biarritz, 1994).
 151. For a bibliography and critique of the “anti-Orientalists,” see Sadiq al-Azm, *Al-Istishraq wal-istishraq ma'kusan* (Beirut, 1981), of which there exists an

- abridged English translation, "Orientalism and Orientalism in Reverse," *Khamsin* 8 (1981): 5–26. See also Fu'ad Zakaria, "Naqd al-Isthishraq wa'azmat al-thaqafa al-'Arabiyya al-mu'asira," *Fikr* 19 (1986): 33–75, of which there exists an abridged French translation in a collection of Zakaria's essays, *Laïcité ou Islamisme: les arabes à l'heure du choix* (Paris and Cairo, 1990), 119–66.
152. Cf. Hay, *Europe. The Emergence of an Idea*. For an alternate approach, see Robert Bartlett, *The Making of Europe*, in which he examines, among other things, the ways in which European identity was formed in central Europe.
 153. "The Christian Middle Ages as an Historiographical Problem," *American Historical Review* 91 (1986): 541. See also Jean Delumeau, *Un chemin d'histoire: Chrétienté et déchristianisation* (Paris, 1981). *Cristianizzazione ed organizzazione ecclesiastica delle campagne nell'alto medioevo: Espansione e resistenze* (Spoleto, 1982); Ramsey MacMullen, *Christianizing the Roman Empire (A.D. 100–400)* (New Haven, Conn., 1984).
 154. *Orientalism*, 58.
 155. Emmanuel Sivan, *Interpretations of Islam Past and Present* (Princeton, 1985), 136. See also Nadim al-Bitar, "Min al-istishraq 'arabi" in *Hudud al-Huwiyya al-Qawmiyya* (Beirut, 1982), 153–196; and M. H. A. al-Saghin, *Al-Mustashriqun wa-l-Dirasat al-Qur'aniyya* (Beirut, 1983).
 156. Theodor Arno, *The Authoritarian Personality* (New York, 1950).
 157. M. Rokeach, *The Open and Closed Mind* (New York, 1960). See also E. H. Gombich, *Art and Illusion* (London, 1959), who discusses the use of stereotypes to impart information about the outside world; and K. Oatley, *Perception and Representations* (London, 1978), who looks at our indirect perception of the "other" as it is filtered through our cultural perception. All of these works are cited by Partha Mitter, "Can we ever understand alien cultures? Some epistemological concerns relating to the perception and understanding of the Other," *Comparative Criticism. An Annual Journal* 19 (1987): 3–34. See also James Boon, *Other Tribes, Other Scribes: Symbolic Anthropology in the Comparative Study of Cultures, Histories, Religions, and Texts* (Cambridge, 1982); Johannes Fabius, *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object* (New York, 1983); and Victor and Edith Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture: Anthropological Perspective* (New York, 1978).
 158. Urs Bitterli, *Die Entdeckung des schwarzen Afrikaners: Versuch einer Geistesgeschichte der europäisch-afrikanischen Beziehungen an der GuineaKüste im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert* (Zurich, 1970).
 159. Bitterli, *Cultures in Conflict* (1989).
 160. Mitter, "Can we ever understand alien cultures?," 7–13.
 161. Mitter, *Much Maligned Monsters: The History of European Reactions to Indian Art* (Oxford, 1977), 17–23. For similar excellent studies, see Pagden, *European Encounters* (1993), and Campbell, *The Witness and the Other World* (1988).

162. This phenomenon is reminiscent of an observation made by R. Boswell Smith, speaking of his countrymen, who said that “military officers and even civil servants of the crown have gone out to India, passed years there, and returned again, still fancying that Musulmans are idolaters.” *Mohammed and Mohammedanism* (London, 1876), 60.
163. Watt, *Muslim-Christian Encounters*, 11–13.
164. *Cultures in Conflict*, 7.

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CHAPTER TWO

Popular Attitudes Towards Islam in Medieval Europe*

Jo Ann Hoeppner Moran Cruz

In the past historians and literary scholars have exhibited a tendency to view the European Middle Ages from a universalist viewpoint, generalizing about all of Europe and much of the Middle Ages. Historians characterized the Middle Ages in terms of ecclesiastical hierarchy and doctrinal unity. For quite some time, there was a notion that medieval Europe was governed by something called a feudal "system." These ideas can still be found in textbooks and introductory surveys, although the authors of these textbooks have, by and large, replaced them with more nuanced interpretations. Similarly, literary criticism was, at one time, dominated by the Princeton school of D. W. Robertson, which read medieval literature almost exclusively in terms of scripture, Augustinianism, and the central concept of charity. This, too, has been replaced by a more sophisticated sense of the complexity of medieval literary production.

This same universalizing tendency has been applied to portrayals of European medieval views of Islam, which are sometimes viewed as uniformly hostile. In fact, they mixed popular and learned views,¹ intermingled the realistic with the marvelous and the legendary, modulated over time and ran the gamut from the murderous to the empathic. The variety of views on Islam among Western Christians in the Middle Ages is not well understood.²

Instead, views such as those of Edward Said, which paint an unsustainable picture of a uniformity of views among Europeans in the modern period, are read back into earlier centuries. On the other hand, it is also the case that many of the most ill-informed views of Islam in the Middle Ages were precisely those that gave rise to legendary and long-lived images and prejudices that have continued to inform European attitudes. By way of offering background for the succeeding essays in this volume, this essay will look at some of the more popular conceptions of Islam current in the Middle Ages.

There are approximately 100 surviving chansons de geste from the Middle Ages, and references in that literature to many others that have not survived. The most famous of these is the *Chanson de Roland* (from ca. 1100), the sole surviving manuscript³ of which was discovered in England at the beginning of the nineteenth century. It is worth exploring the way legend works in relation to the *Chanson de Roland*, in order to understand better western views of Islam.

In 778, when Charlemagne was a relatively young king, his army was enlisted to help the Muslim governors of Barcelona and Saragossa against the Umayyad caliph in Cordoba; he was functioning, essentially, as a mercenary within an Islamic factional struggle. For a variety of reasons, the campaign was unsuccessful. On the return home, Charlemagne's men sacked the town of Pamplona, killing and looting. In retaliation the Basques/Gascons (*Wascones*) ambushed Charlemagne's rear guard in the Pyrenees, killing everyone and making away with the booty from Pamplona.⁴ The Franks never re-vengeed for themselves this massacre, and Charlemagne appears to have refused to allow anyone, during his lifetime, to mention it. It was, in fact, the only military defeat of his career. The dramatic, unavenged (and unutterable) defeat then entered the realm of the legendary, where vengeance is extracted in legend if not in reality.⁵ The Christians have their vengeance in the *Chanson de Roland*, where Charlemagne is said to have conquered all of Spain with the exception of Saragossa. In this legend the enemies have become the Saracens rather than *Wascones*, some of whom are dark (literally, as the epic notes, "blacker far than ink"), connoting evil. The Christians are guided by the sun, by angels, and by God. The Christians are right; the Saracens are wrong. On the basis alone, it is clear that the Saracens will lose this, by now, nearly apocalyptic battle.

Scholarly focus on the Saracens in the *Chanson de Roland* has noted that the epic song depicts them as idolaters but, in other respects, as worthy opponents to the Christians.⁶ This is not entirely correct. The Saracens show numerous negative traits besides being non-Christians. They are involved in trickery; they are willing to sacrifice their firstborn sons in order to outwit Charlemagne. They kill negotiators from the other side; they are cowards and run from the battlefield; they fight for the wrong reasons—wealth, land,

and women—and they destroy their own idols when they lose the battle. One of the slaughtered “pagans” is described as having taken Jerusalem by treachery, having desecrated Solomon’s temple, and having killed the patriarch before the altar.

The fact that these Saracens are pagan, that they worship idols—in this case Apollyon, Tervagant, and Mahomet—has been much discussed, but not convincingly understood, in the scholarly literature.⁷ Legends do not spring from historical vacuums. In this case, the Islamic armies that fought in Spain were a very mixed crew, both in legend and in reality. Baligant’s army, as described in the *Chanson de Roland*, consisted of Nubians, two divisions of Slavs, Armenians, Moors, Pechenegs, Avars, Huns, and Hungarians, among others. Although some of these groups had, themselves, become legendary, this is not such a far-fetched list.⁸ The Slavs, in particular, *were* slave soldiers and guards of the Umayyad rulers in Spain from perhaps the early ninth century, and sometimes held high posts in the administrative, judicial, and military ranks. Particularly under ‘Abd ar-Rahman III, in the first half of the tenth century, the Slavs⁹ constituted a large mercenary force along with the Berbers, black Africans, and some Christians. The commander of the Muslim force at the battle of Alhandega in 938–39 was a Slav general. Most Slavs would have been pagan and, even those Slavs who were neo-Muslims must have retained some of their pagan ways.¹⁰ Paul Bancourt notes the wide range of pagan peoples named in the Roland epics, including the Wiltzes, the Sorbes from the middle Elbe region, the Borusses (or Pruzzi), the Rus, Avars, Polonais, Esclavons, Bulgares, Hongrois from Europe, in addition to peoples of Asia including the Petchings and Comans, and peoples of Africa, including the Nubians and Ethiopians. He concludes¹¹ that these epics take us back to a time when a variety of pagan peoples menaced Christian Europe. The question, then, should not be whether the depiction of the Saracens as pagans was due to ignorance or deliberate fiction, but rather, why the memory of pagan warriors in Europe hung on for so long. Even as late as the thirteenth century, epics relating to William of Orange (from southern France) describe the pagans as both Saracens and Slavs; in fact the leader of the Saracens, the King of Orange whose city and wife William conquers, is Sir Tibalt the Slav.

Although gestes relating to Roland were well-known throughout France and Spain since at least the tenth century, later epics associated with Aymeri of Narbonne and his son, William of Orange (written ca. 1200 but legendary from the eleventh century and based on people and places of the ninth century) were at least as popular. While they continue to treat the Saracens as idol worshipers, in these later epics, the Saracens are even more wickedly portrayed and cruelly treated than in the *Chanson de Roland*.¹² They are the authors of all evil, hating God and actively seeking Satan. They

eat their prisoners, betray their oaths, buy and sell their own womenfolk. The southern French are no longer as chivalrous with the Saracens as Charlemagne was; they ambush them, go in disguise, kill them unarmed, imprison them cruelly rather than ransoming them. Aymeri's reputation rests on his role as Saracen-killer, and he has no doubt that God will bring him victory; it is the victory of Christ over Antichrist. There is the odor of the crusade about this epic, particularly since Aymeri is strongly attached to the institutional church (building an abbey, fighting for the church, early in the epic Charlemagne builds a church and establishes an archbishopric), whereas the *Chanson de Roland* pays virtually no attention to the church. In general, throughout the Aymeri of Narbonne/William of Orange epics the Christians are strong, brave, generous, lighthearted, pious, loyal, proud, and victorious; the "pagans" are wealthy and fight bravely but they are ugly, idolatrous, grotesque, ridiculous, fanatical, and prone to failure.

On the other hand, it is important to note that these epics never pit "Christendom" against Islam; they represent only a portion of Europe, usually a region and often a particular kinship network. The Saracens are not the only enemies. In the chanson of Aymeri of Narbonne, the Germans are also depicted as wicked, vulgar, cowardly, and handily defeated, while the Lombards are avaricious, vulgar, cowardly, and treated with great condescension and mistrust by the Provencals.¹³ Similarly, the (seven) epic poems associated with William of Orange show inordinate hatred for the person of the King of France (under the legendary guise of Louis, Charlemagne's son), as well as for the Normans.

The Saracens in these William epics are not portrayed positively either. They are still willing to sacrifice their firstborn sons; they are hideous and treacherous, arrogant and cowardly, also wealthy and cultivated (playing chess, living in splendid palaces). Their gods (Mahomet, Cahu, Apollyon, and Ter-vagant) are earthly idols, and they seem to believe in a kind of dualism—with God beyond the earth, Muhammad's law on earth. The following passage from *Le Couronnement de Louis*, while offering a more sophisticated sense of Islam than that of the *Chanson de Roland*, is no less full of prejudice and misinformation: "Miscreant!", said William, 'God will destroy you and crush forever your unholy rule. For Mohammad—the world knows this is true—was a prophet of our Lord Jesu. He crossed the mountains preaching the truth and came to Mecca where he abused our faith with drinking and pleasures crude and fittingly ended as pigs' food. If you believe in him you are deluded.' The pagan said: 'Your lies are base and rude. If you would do as I advised you and freely accept Mohammad's truth, I should give you honors and lands to rule . . . You will die in torment if you refuse.'"¹⁴

Aiol, another chanson de geste, notes that "the Lord God first sent Mahon on earth to preach, to exalt his law [but] he perverted the command

of God."¹⁵ *L'entrée d'Espagne*, a later poem, describes the Prophet as a former Christian leader frustrated at being denied the Papacy.¹⁶

These negative characteristics have, however, a bit more sophistication than those found in the *Chanson de Roland*. The Christianity injected in these epics has likewise become slightly more sophisticated and didactic. Where Roland brandishes a relic-laden sword, William, prior to his battles, tells himself biblical tales as a form of prayer. *Aiol* is interspersed with references to monks, priests, pilgrimages, baptisms, prayers, and a variety of saints and biblical figures.

Although there is a consistency to the portraits of Muslims in the medieval epic tradition, there are shifts. Paul Bancourt argues that, by the last quarter of the twelfth century, the portrait of the loyal Saracen grew in popularity, as, for example, in *Aspremont*, the epics associated with Fierabras and in the *Chevalerie d'Ogior*.¹⁷ Increasingly, also, conversion from heathenism on the part of the Saracens is emphasized.¹⁸ This is particularly true of those epics associated with Fierabras or, in the Middle English version, the *Sowdan of Babylon*.¹⁹ In this epic tradition, the Saracens remain heathen, with idols of gold but the Alkaron as their bible, priests and bishops as attendants, and Mahound as a mighty man with the ability to draw souls to him in the afterlife. In the end, the Saracen gods fail Fierabras, and he is baptized.

Perhaps the greatest shift of all occurs in the version of the William of Orange epic (*Willehalm*) offered by Wolfram von Eschenbach, a German knight writing in the early thirteenth century. Wolfram's knowledge of eastern geography seems reasonably accurate, but nothing in the poem suggests much knowledge of Islam. Negative statements abound—the pagans were "covered with horn front and back, they didn't have a human voice: the sound from their mouths was the same as a hound or the bellow of a cow."²⁰ And yet, despite his negative portrayal of the Saracens, in an eloquent speech placed in the mouth of the female heroine, Wolfram writes:

The first man whom God created was a heathen. Now believe that Elijah and Enoch, though they were heathens, have been saved from damnation. Noah, who was saved in the ark, was also a heathen. . . . The heathens are not all destined for damnation. We know it to be true that all children born of mothers since the time of Eve were born incontestably heathens, even though baptism surrounds the child. Baptized women carry heathen children even though the child is surrounded by baptism . . . We are all formerly heathens.²¹

This remarkably tolerant attitude sits uneasily with his damning descriptions of Saracens. Wolfram seems to suggest, simultaneously, that Saracens need to be converted, that they are damned, and that, even without baptism,

they can be saved. It may be the individualism and varying voices of Wolfram's protagonists that enable him to expound such diverse views on salvation; the fact that he did not finish his epic merely deepens one's perplexity.

In several tales where one might expect descriptions of Saracens, there is scant attention paid. One such is the *Pèlerinage de Charlemagne*, probably produced in the late twelfth century.²² Here attention is wholly on the court at Constantinople and a farcical competition between its king and Charlemagne, whose character appears problematic—childish, self-centered, and flawed as a warrior and religious leader. Another, *Aucassin et Nicolette*, derived from Arabic sources and compiled in France in the early thirteenth century, is wholly concerned with the love affair of the two protagonists.²³ And medieval German literature, with the notable exception of *Willehalm*, rarely places emphasis on either crusades or Saracens,²⁴ although the crusading experience is sometimes touched upon, often in chivalric courtly terms rather than in terms of holy war. In the late twelfth-century *Herzog Ernst*, for example, Duke Ernst is banished for seven years, during which time he travels to the Holy Land to fight. But his adventures focus on the journey there, not the encounter with Muslims, and could as easily have taken place outside a crusading context.²⁵

There are other epics, apart from those mentioned above, in which Muslims are neither so peripheral nor so harshly treated. This is evident in many of the Spanish epic romances—the romance and legend of Rodrigo, the last Gothic king,²⁶ the *Romancero de Barnardo del Carpio*,²⁷ the *Poem of El Cid*, and *Amadis de Gaula*. This tradition was to eventually merge with the Roland tradition in Ludovico Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*. But one must be careful, even in this relatively more generous legendary tradition. For all that the Moors in *El Cid* are his allies, are treated generously by El Cid once they are defeated, and are worthy leaders and warriors, in the end El Cid is perfectly willing to slaughter them without much provocation, deceive them, destroy their mosques, force them into exile, and turn Valencia into a Christian city.

More wholeheartedly positive are the romance epics and heroic tales associated with Salah al-Din, who becomes a chivalric hero, progressively more French as the legends bring him to France, traveling incognito, and foist a French noble mother upon him.²⁸

There is one more epic romance, which marries the epic traditions of Fierabras with that of the Arthurian legend of Percival and the Holy Grail, that is of interest for its sympathetic rendering of Muslims. In general, the Arthurian legends, of which Percival forms a part, evolved independent of any Islamic elements, deriving from Celtic, British, Breton, and French sources.²⁹ But in the first half of the thirteenth century Wolfram von Eschenbach, retold the story of Percival and the Holy Grail.³⁰ He based his

story loosely on Chrétien de Troyes's unfinished romance, completing it by making Percival, eventually, king of the Grail Castle. Among the oddities of this story are the first two chapters that tell the adventures of Percival's father, Gahmuret, who becomes a mercenary in the Middle East where he falls in love with the Saracen queen of Zazamanc. Although an infidel and very dark, she is beautiful, affectionate, loyal, and faithful. By her Gahmuret has a son, a half-brother to Percival, named Feirefiz who is born pied, both black and white, grows to govern an enormous kingdom, to command 25 armies (of which none understood another's tongue), and to become incredibly wealthy. He, "the noble infidel," then becomes a member of the Round Table and a part of the Grail company. He is literate, and, after being baptized, is able to view the Grail and marry the sister of the fisher-king. Returning to India they bear a son named Prester John, and Feirefiz has letters sent throughout the world describing the Christian life of India.

In chapter 9, Wolfram says that his tale is based on a story told by a Provençal poet, Kyot, who "saw this Tale of Parzival written in the heathenish tongue (written by a learned astronomer named Flegetanis), and what he retold in French I shall not be too dull to recount in German." This is unlikely. Beside the fact that it was a commonplace to cite an unknown source, Wolfram displays almost no knowledge of the Arab world beyond mentions of Arabic gold, dark faces, marvelous brocades, the Arabic names of some medicines and stones and some knowledge of military tactics (mounted archery, Greek fire, and Parthian tactics of wheeling and retreating). Feirefiz's gods are Jupiter and Juno.

Eighty-six copies of this manuscript survive, 44 of which date from the thirteenth century. It was enormously popular. There is an element of broad-mindedness and tolerance in this tale—whether directed toward Muslims or women or the French. With regard to the virtuous heathen or Muslim, Wolfram says: "If in later days he died unbaptized, may He who works all wonders have mercy upon him!" Wolfram seems to subscribe to the idea that we were all pagans once, and his portraits of pagans are sympathetic. This is reinforced by several passages that speak of God's unfathomable mercy, as well as by Wolfram's tolerance of the unbaptized in his *Willehalm* epic (see above).

In this regard Wolfram is echoing a great many other medieval authors who dealt with the problem of the virtuous pagan—the unbeliever who is nonetheless saved.³¹ This idea was expounded upon by Roger Bacon, who exalts the morals of unbelievers as opposed to Christians, and concludes that both Greek and Arab philosophers had *preludia fidei*, perhaps sufficient for salvation. Dante's *Divine Comedy* includes both pagans and named heretics in Paradise, while three Muslims rest in a comfortable, almost paradise-like limbo along with other virtuous pagans from the classical world. Ramon

Llull states that the Muslim who dies without sin and in good faith will suffer only bodily but not spiritual pains in the next world.³² William Langland's personification of *Anima* in *Piers Plowman*³³ hopes that the Saracens and Jews will be saved. The fourteenth century English poem called *St. Erkenwald* tells of a pagan judge saved by St. Erkenwald's prayers.³⁴ John Wycliffe, in his *De fide Catholica*, argues that men from any sect can be saved, even among the Saracens,³⁵ and Uthred of Boldon, in the 1360s, suggested that all persons receive their final judgment at the moment of death and with direct vision of God, that judgment depending upon their response to that experience.³⁶ The mystics of the later Middle Ages were troubled by this question, and Dame Julian of Norwich (1343–1413) responds by concluding that humans cannot grasp God's great mercy and should not presume to think that non-Christians will be damned.³⁷ Her contemporary, Briggitta of Sweden, seems quite sure that virtuous pagans are saved.

This tolerant view was not the view of many crusaders; nor, in the final analysis, was it the view of the papacy. Although some of the elements that went into the idea of a papally-led war against the Muslims can be traced to the ninth century, it was the papacy of Gregory VII (1073–1085) that linked it with an army on pilgrimage to Jerusalem.³⁸ Gregory planned an expedition that he himself would lead in response to the fact that "Christians beyond the sea . . . are being destroyed by the heathen with unheard-of slaughter and are daily being slain like so many sheep . . ."³⁹ And yet, in a letter to the Muslim ruler of Mauretania circa 1076, Gregory writes, "This affection we and you owe to each other in a more peculiar way than to people of other races because we worship and confess the same God though in diverse forms and daily praise and adore him as the creator and ruler of this world. For, in the words of the Apostle, 'He is our peace who hath made both one.'"⁴⁰ Gregory treated his own bishops and many European kings far harsher, judging them as damned souls for their disobedience, Christian or not.

A note of hysteria, however, attends the First Crusade and is apparent in the variant versions of Pope Urban II's famous speech at the Council of Clermont in 1095 that initiated the movement.⁴¹ There he described the atrocities of the Turks in the Holy Land in inflammatory language, painting word pictures of Christians being slaughtered (and gutted) within their own churches. Urban linked his call for an expedition to both spiritual and material benefits. The kind of electrifying preaching that followed, stressing the coming day of Judgment and the city of Jerusalem, incited people further, and it is hardly surprising that massacres of the Jews occurred in due course along the pilgrimage route (mainly along the Rhine),⁴² and that, once Jerusalem was occupied, the crusaders should engage in a massacre of such proportions that, as Fulcher of Chartres put it, "If you had been there your feet would have been stained to the ankles in the blood of the slain."⁴³

Or, as the anonymous knight who wrote the *Gesta Francorum* notes, "No one has ever seen or heard of such a slaughter of pagans, for they were burned on pyres like pyramids, and no one save God alone knows how many there were."⁴⁴

There is much that can be said with regard to the crusades and relations between Muslims and Christians, but, in general, better knowledge of Islam in the West was not one of the results. There were, as is well known from numerous anecdotes, differing levels of toleration of Muslims and Muslim culture among the Christians in the Holy Land.⁴⁵ But Western Christians were more likely to hear legends, many of which were brought back by the Franks who had been to the Holy Land—legends that Ida, the widowed countess of Austria, a crusader in 1101, was captured and married to a Saracen, by whom she had a child, Zengi, who was to retake Edessa from the Franks in 1144. Legends that Eleanor of Aquitaine had had an affair with Salah al-Din (who was a boy at the time) when she accompanied her husband Louis VII on the Second Crusade.⁴⁶ Legends of Salah al-Din's chivalrous, virtuous behavior vis-à-vis Richard the Lion-Hearted. Legends of the relations between the Templars and Salah al-Din—for example, that the Templars had captured and mistreated his nephew dishonestly, causing Salah al-Din much anguish and accounting for his harsh treatment of the Templars after the battle of Hattin in 1187. Legends that Salah al-Din was a descendant of the daughter of the Count of Ponthieu in northern France, or that he baptized himself on his deathbed.⁴⁷ Legends of Richard the Lion-Hearted's prowess in killing Saracens, and his miraculous release from prison in Germany on his legendary trip home.⁴⁸ There was a legend that the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem housed Muslim idols and that, at Mecca, an apostate monk named Nicholas was worshipped. Even Thomas of Becket was given a legendary Saracen mother, and the various legends associated with the Templars—that they used magic, that they were wolves in sheep's clothing, that they sought gold, that they were keepers of the Grail—are still with us today.⁴⁹

One of the most intriguing rumors that swept crusading Europe was that of Prester John, a mysterious imperial Christian ruler in the East. In 1145, Bishop Otto of Freising wrote that, "We also met the recently anointed Bishop of Gabul from Syria. . . . He said that a few years ago a certain John, King and priest of the people living beyond the Persians and Armenians in the extreme Orient, professing Christianity, though of the Nestorian persuasion, marched in war against the . . . king of Medes and then Persians, and conquered their capital. . . ." A bit later a letter in Arabic appeared from Prester John, written to the Byzantine emperor, in which he detailed his kingdom of the "Three Indies," describing unlimited wealth, magical mirrors that made you invisible, exotic animals, and men with eyes in back and front. This letter, and this kingdom, excited Christian hopes again at the time of the

failed Fifth Crusade (1221), when two letters from Damietta (one of which was from the papal legate) equated the army of Prester John with the Mongol attacks on Persia, raising hopes of a Christian victory.⁵⁰ Marco Polo described the origins of the Mongols as coming from Manchuria, particularly the region near Lake Baikal, where they were tributaries to a great lord "that Prester John, of whose great empire all the world speaks."⁵¹

The origin of the Prester John legend most probably comes from the fact that several tribes of Turks and Mongols in the western steppes of Asia converted to Nestorian Christianity⁵² in the eleventh century. Some western Mongol tribes and the Khitan rulers of China were influenced by Nestorianism. When the Liao (Khitan) empire in China fell, one of the rulers, the Gur Khan Yelu Dashi, led a united army of tribes into Persia, successfully defeating the Seljuks in 1141, and finally settling in Turkestan with a capital at Balasagun. Although Yelu Dashi was not himself Christian, he was surrounded by Nestorian Christians and may have been the origin of the Prester John legend. Europeans looked long and hard for Prester John's kingdom, convinced for some time that the Mongols were associated with it, sometimes imagining that it was in China or perhaps India, then shifting its location to Africa and particularly Ethiopia. When the Portuguese began to explore the West African coast in the fifteenth century, one of their goals was to find the kingdom of Prester John. For centuries the hope did not die that this kingdom, with its wealth and magic, would join with the West to push back the expanding network of Islamic kingdoms stretching from Spain to India, and to reconquer the Holy Land.

Side by side with the legends was a growing body of more or less accurate information about Islam. Already, by the eleventh century, several sources with somewhat more accurate information with regard to Islam entered western Europe, particularly a narrative by Theophanes, reproduced in the works of Anastasius the Librarian and Landulf Sagax, that describes the rise of Muhammad and the history of the caliphate in its first 150 years.⁵³ In this account, Muhammad is presented as a prophet, albeit as a pseudo-prophet; Islamic ideas of paradise are detailed, and an emphasis is placed on the role of compassion in Islam. John of Damascus, writing from the Orthodox Christian viewpoint in the eighth century, in his polemic against the "heresy of the Ishmaelites," read the Qur'an in the Arabic and made an effort to understand and transmit accurately Qur'anic concepts and Islamic theology.⁵⁴ Western and Eastern writers who used these accounts twisted them, making Muhammad into a god and Muslims into fools.⁵⁵ Benjamin Kedar concludes, "These responses to the Anastasian stimulus demonstrate that confrontation with relatively accurate information did not necessarily lead to its absorption. Time and again, the new data failed to modify the writers' preconceptions; on the contrary, the preconceptions dictated the ex-

tent to which the data were absorbed. Nor did the availability of correct information guarantee its acceptance by all the learned, to say nothing of the unlearned, of that time."⁵⁶

A number of twelfth-century Western writers mention Saracen monotheism, however, as well as Muhammad's status as a prophet rather than a god.⁵⁷ Guibert of Nogent, early in the twelfth century, notes that Muhammad was one through whom the divine laws are transmitted. In 1127, William of Malmesbury wrote that the Saracens do not worship "Maumeth" as a God, "as some people think."⁵⁸ Otto of Freising, in his *Chronica* for the 1140s, attacked the archbishop of Salzburg for speaking of Muslim idols when, in fact, the Saracens worship one God. Later, in the 1270s, Humbert of Romans, one of the greatest proponents of a crusade and a papal propagandist, wrote that many Christians, not only laymen but clerics as well, believe that the Saracens consider Mahomet their god, "which, however, is false."⁵⁹ The *Golden Legend* by Jacobus de Voragine, written ca. 1260 and perhaps the most influential source for preaching and private devotional reading in the Middle Ages, is quite clear that Muslims confess one God, who has neither equal nor like, and Muhammad is his prophet.⁶⁰ When, however, the patriarch of Jerusalem in 1204 and the grand masters of the Knights Hospitaller and Templar asserted to the pope that the "Saracens adore their God Mahometh,"⁶¹ it becomes clear that there was little correlation between geography and accuracy, little agreement among the learned, and a persistent ignorance.

Gradually a larger amount of accurate information about Islam became available.⁶² Many scientific treatises were translated, although they are uniformly attributed to Arabs, not Saracens.⁶³ Peter the Venerable, Abbot of Cluny, commissioned a translation of the Qur'an,⁶⁴ and it could be found in many European libraries in a translation by Robert of Ketton, archdeacon of Pamplona,⁶⁵ that did not notably misrepresent Islamic beliefs. Although the translation has been characterized negatively by Marie d'Alverny,⁶⁶ this is primarily because Robert of Ketton adds nuances derived from the glosses of Muslim interpretations in an effort to reflect the Muslim understanding of the text.⁶⁷ A more literal translation, done by Mark of Toledo, was available but less popular and perhaps less reflective of an Islamic understanding.⁶⁸ The influence of Robert of Ketton's translation goes far beyond the manuscript tradition itself. Vincent of Beauvais, in his enormously popular *Speculum historiale*, was to extract from this compilation the life of Muhammad, a history of the Qur'an, a description of the beliefs of Islam, parts of the *Risala* (the letter from a Christian and the letter of a Saracen), all of which give a certain sense of balance to his treatment of Islam.

Other lives of Muhammad were translated, although they included much legendary material, both from Muslim and Christian sources, such as

the account of Muhammad's ascent into the afterlife. Many commentators now understood that Muslims revered Jesus and Mary as well as the Old Testament prophets, that they were strongly opposed to the Trinity, the incarnation, and the use of images, and insistent on the unity of God, that Muhammad has successfully struggled against paganism and given Islam a developed theology of the afterlife, and, generally, that Muhammad had claimed to be a prophet but not divine. Nonetheless, virtually all Western medieval treatments of Islam present damning and distorted information.

The most obvious line of attack was Muhammad himself, who was variously portrayed as an epileptic, a magician, the Beast of the Apocalypse, lascivious, ambitious, money-grubbing, political, and ready to war and rob.⁶⁹ They argued that his revelations met his personal needs, that he tricked those around him into believing them, and that he died an unnatural (unsaintly) death (by poison, being trampled by pigs, eaten by dogs, etc.). Many believed that Muhammad had been taught, originally, by an apostate or heretical Christian monk.⁷⁰ Alan of Lille referred to Muhammad's monstrous life, more monstrous sect, most monstrous death. Norman Daniel, in his revised *Islam and the West*, details the Western attack on Muhammad as a prophet, including, for example, pointing to contradictions in the Qur'an.⁷¹ In general, medieval Christians seemed to believe that they could discredit Islam by discrediting Muhammad. Even the *Golden Legend*, probably the most influential book of its time,⁷² which judiciously recounts and then eschews some of the legends surrounding Muhammad (e.g., that he tricked the people by having a dove descend to pick out seeds from his ear) includes a description of Muhammad as a false prophet who blended truth with error. It repeats the legend that the works of the Qur'an were dictated by Sergius, either an apostate Nestorian monk or perhaps a Jacobite archdeacon, as well as the legend that Muhammad was an epileptic whose authority derived from his marriage to Khadija. On the other hand, Jacobus includes much that is accurate regarding Islamic religious practices and doctrines.⁷³

As the crusades progressed and Europeans explored the East, they became increasingly aware of the extent of Islam;⁷⁴ it was particularly galling that Islam had somehow achieved territorial and religious control over formerly Christianized areas such as Syria, Egypt, northern Africa, and, of course, by the end of the thirteenth century, the Holy Land once more. With the conversion of the Mongols coming on the heels of the failure of the crusades, the sense of frustration and antagonism grew rather than diminished with the growth of available information. Increasingly Christians began to see Islam as the single-most significant obstacle to Christianity, and, contrary to all expectations, a devilish apostasy of Christianity that was growing, not diminishing. The use of force against Muslims was justified—and on the highest authority of God. Humbert of Romans, writing for the Council of Lyons in

1274, argued that the Muslims were culpable in the highest degree; the church had the right to wield a sword against both heretics and rebels, and the Muslims were both.⁷⁵ Roger Bacon, in writing to the pope in the 1260s, supported the prophecy that, "the Greeks will return to the obedience of the Roman Church, the Tartars for the most part will be converted to the Faith and the Saracens will be destroyed."⁷⁶ Although Muslims were allowed to live within Christian territories, canon law decreed that they wear distinctive clothing; no Christians could be their servants, nor could Christians eat with them. They were forbidden to go out on certain Christian holy days; they could not serve in public office nor engage in trade with their fellow Muslims outside Christendom, and after 1312, they could not practice public prayer in Christian lands.⁷⁷ These intolerant attitudes and practices (applied also to the Jews) contrast rather remarkably with the degree of toleration western intellectuals extended to Arabic writings, commentaries, and translations.

They also contrast remarkably with the attitudes of some Christians who could appreciate Islamic virtues and argue that Muslims took their religion more seriously than the Christians did, or that Muslims fasted and gave to the poor more rigorously than the Christians did.⁷⁸ As early as the late twelfth century Peter, the Chanter, writing a manual for preachers and teachers (the *Verbum Abbreviatum*), commented that the "sobrietas Mahometicorum hodie superat subrietatem Christianorum."⁷⁹ Sermons from the thirteenth century on suggest that audiences for sermons were questioning the extent to which God was on the side of the Christians rather than the Muslims.⁸⁰ Travelers in the Middle East were often impressed with the kindness, generosity, strictness, and honesty of Muslim culture, while they were offended by the call to prayer, Muslim marriage practices, and the Muslim rejection of lifelong asceticism and celibacy.⁸¹

Even the best informed of writers could not normally get beyond the veil of hostility to Islam. Marco Polo's *Travels* (1298), although mixed with a dash of romance and Frankish-type battle descriptions, is, in the main, a sober account of one man's 20-year journey through central Asia, China, around southeast Asia, through southern India, and into the Persian Gulf. Marco wrote from the vantage point of an administrator and a merchant-seaman. His attitude toward the Mongols was tolerant and even full of admiration. He was also tolerant of "idolaters," primarily Buddhists and Hindus, praising their austerity and their humaneness, their monks and their yogis. He mentions Nestorian Christians without much concern for doctrinal differences. His only prejudice seems to be against the Muslims. He details, with obvious pleasure, the overthrow of the caliph in Baghdad in 1258 by Hulagu, leader of the western Mongol horde. He describes Muslims as treacherous, prone to great sinfulness, and as "dogs not fit to lord it over Christians." As to their doctrine, he reports that "the accursed doctrine of

the Saracens [is that] every sin is accounted a lawful act even to the killing of any man who is not of their creed."⁸²

William, the archbishop of Tyre, was born ca. 1130 and grew up in Jerusalem, spent 20 years studying in the West and then returned to the Holy Land. He wrote several works, one a history of the Muslim world, the other a history of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, also entitled *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*. The history of the Muslim world is now lost and seems to have been used by very few in the west, while William's *Deeds* (or *Chronicon*) was quite popular.⁸³ William's main concerns were to analyze the reasons for the failure of the crusades in the East, and to propagandize the need for a return to spirituality, faith, and a strengthened military. In part he was writing a tract for Western readers, arguing that Jerusalem could be saved. He, therefore, exalted the role of the King of Jerusalem and emphasized the role of the church in the East. His focus of attack was not so much the Muslims as it was the papacy and the Templars. Although only nine copies of the Latin text are extant, it was very popular in the thirteenth century in a French and then a Spanish translation. William's own attitudes toward Muslims were mixed. He exalts Christian triumphs over the Muslims and takes on an increasingly pessimistic tone as Muslim victories in the twelfth century accumulated. He had a positive view of Salah al-Din as a man of genius, wise in counsel, a vigorous warrior, and unusually generous. He sometimes passes on extremely good information—for example, his description of the nature of the Dome of the Rock—and at the same time he scarcely seems to understand Muslim theology and the descent of Islam (particularly Ali's relation to Muhammad). At one point he states that "Muhammad broke out into such madness that he dared to lie that he was a prophet." He never refers to the Saracens as pagans, however, and portrays Nur-al-Din as, albeit a persecutor of the Christian faith, a just prince nonetheless, and a man who feared God "according to the superstitious traditions of that people."⁸⁴

Once translated into French, William's *Chronicon* attracted continuators who carried the history into the mid-thirteenth century.⁸⁵ While the relationship between these various continuators still needs unraveling, the continuations of William's *Chronicon* offer a much less biased account of the Saracens and particularly of Salah al-Din. Focusing largely on the chronology of events, the Lyon continuation, in particular, shows the Saracens in a generally positive light.⁸⁶ Although it refers to the Islamic world as pagan and records those occasions when the Saracens murdered Christians, the portrait of Salah al-Din is one of a reasonable, brave, courteous, and charitable leader, while the Saracens, generally, keep their promises and help Christians when they are not at war. In contrast, the Greeks are treacherous, the Poitevins untrustworthy, the Germans brutish, and Richard I "devious and greedy," while the Templars give bad advice and treat the people

poorly. At one point, the Crusaders “encountered greater cruelty among those who called themselves Christians [the Greeks in Cyprus] than they would have found with the unbelieving Saracens.”⁸⁷ On the other hand, the Templars after the Battle of Hattin, faced with a choice of conversion or martyrdom, are quite clear that “. . . the law of Muhammad is false and deceitful.”⁸⁸

By the twelfth century there were some voices raised, not so much in protest of crusading violence, but in favor of preaching and the peaceful conversion of Muslims, although these voices never extended very far.⁸⁹ Peter the Venerable, for example, attached a polemic to the Ketton translation of the Qur’an that was intended to promote conversion, although it never circulated among Muslims and was not of much interest to Christians either.

Roger Bacon, an exact contemporary of Marco Polo’s (ca. 1220–1292), also promoted preaching. Bacon is generally known for his wide-ranging knowledge and his scientific mindset. Although he may not really have known Arabic, he knew more about Arabic science than any man of his time; he exalted the role of philosophy and of scientific knowledge, arguing that all philosophy (whether Arabic, classical, or Hebrew) proved the truth of Christianity and that all science (whether Arabic, Greek, Hebrew, Chaldean, etc.) was universal and cohesive. This universal science, drawn from all tradition, was also useful; it would deepen spiritual understanding and, applied in a practical fashion, could be used to spread Christianity, e.g., by using burning glasses to win battles, by changing the air and hence the complexion of enemies (biological warfare?). Bacon was, therefore, not at all opposed to crusades, although he did not think they had been very effective. More effective, Bacon argued in his *Opus Maius*, would be the learning of languages and of philosophy in order to convert the infidels. He says that war does not succeed, for sometimes the Christians lose, and if they win, they only enrage the Muslims more. As a result, “they [the Muslims] are becoming impossible to convert in many parts of the world, and especially beyond the sea. Moreover, faith did not enter this world by arms but through the simplicity of preaching, as is evident. And we have often heard and we are certain that many with but an imperfect knowledge of these languages, usuing poor translators, yet made great progress by preaching, and converted many to the Christian faith.”⁹⁰

This was to be the program promoted by Ramon Llull. Born in Majorca in 1232, where he grew up among Muslims, Jews, and Christians, he lived a worldly, ambitious life until a conversion experience prompted him to give up wealth, position, family, and various amours and to begin the program that would dominate the rest of his life—writing books for the conversion of Jews and Muslims to Christianity and establishing monastery schools

where future missionaries could learn Hebrew and Arabic. With his intellectual curiosity and driving desire to convert, he produced, in over 200 surviving works, a philosophical-theological system that offered a key to all knowledge and a methodology for proving the truth of Christianity and particularly the Trinity. Llull's "Art," as it is called, is highly original, but influenced by Neoplatonism, by Arabic writers (al-Ghazzali, in particular), possibly by the Jewish Cabala, and by Western mystical traditions (such as the Victorines and St. Bonaventure). In contrast to Bacon, who wrote in Latin and for a select circle, Llull wrote in Arabic and Catalan, often in verse, with a clear intention of simplifying and popularizing his ideas. Llull created a trinitarian logic that he believed mirrored the real world. That logic, which he called combinatory art and which was expressed by letters and figures, analogies and congruences, could then be applied to all knowledge.⁹¹ Llull's "logic," which seemed irrefutable to him, had relatively little impact on the Muslims he met in his many travels in northern Africa and the eastern Mediterranean. Nor was he any more successful with his school project, despite spending nearly 50 years petitioning popes and princes for support.⁹² Llull had a synthetic mind and, to some modern scholars, an empathetic mind. He understood Islam well, read works of Islamic theology, and carried on his campaign without rancor or harshness. He believed in free, not forced, conversions, disagreeing with the usual missionary efforts that focused on disproving Islam rather than proving Christianity. Although there were times in his life when he supported the crusades, most of Llull's writings advocate a return to the peaceful missionary methods of the apostles. Legendarily, he is supposed to have died in north Africa (in 1316), stoned while preaching in a town square.⁹³

The papacy also had spurts of missionary fervor (especially under Innocent IV in the 1240s), but these were limited in contact, bedeviled by poor relations with the Greek Orthodox Church, conflicts within the mendicant orders, lack of training of missionaries, and the basic problem of the need to bend, doctrinally and culturally, in order to realistically achieve conversions. When Constantinople fell in 1453, the question of reinvigorating both crusades and missions became more urgent. Pope Pius II (1458–1468) initiated preparations for a crusade while simultaneously entertaining more peaceful means. John of Segovia wrote to Pius II to promote his idea of a conference between Muslims and Christians to reconcile differences.⁹⁴ Nicholas of Cusa wrote Pius to suggest a detailed study of the Qur'an in order to sift out the trust and to promote a unity of religion.⁹⁵ In the event, Pius II decided to address a letter directly to Muhammed II, Sultan of the Turks (1432–1481), urging him to convert. This eloquent letter, written in Latin and intended to persuade, has survived in a number of copies and appears to have been one of the more popular of Pius's writings. In it he takes

issue with Islam, with its vision of the afterlife, its approval of polygamy and divorce, and its prohibition of any possible dispute with regard to Muhammad's revelations. Pius displays an understanding of the Qur'an and its views on the afterlife as well as its views on Jews and Christians, but the bulk of his letter is an exposition of scripture—an attempt to point out the congruences between the Old and New Testaments and the obvious truth of Christianity given the state of man's soul, the nature of God, and man's spiritual needs. Pius is condescending with regard to Islam and full of invective when speaking of Muhammad. His major argument is that Islam raises false expectations of salvation while allowing vice, and that Muhammad was a fraud and possibly a heretic.⁹⁶ He believed that Islam lacked miracles and was justified only by its willingness to resort to force. Although reasonable in many respects, the letter offers no tolerance or understanding of the person of the Prophet or his revelation. The underlying assumption is that the debate, once joined, would clearly show the truth of Christianity and the falsity of Islam.

The limits of ecclesiastical tolerance also were reached in the fifteenth century by the circle around a Franciscan friar named Alonso de Mella, in Castile. In 1442, he was in trouble with the church for advocating the free interpretation of the Bible. When some of his associates were burned in Castile, Frater Alonso fled to Muslim Granada. Soon after arriving he wrote a long letter to King Juan II of Castile, asking for a public reconsideration of his ideas. "We . . . being in this kingdom of Granada, have been carefully examining and inquiring into the faith which the Muslims hold and profess. We find that they are not unbelievers, as is said at home, but rather we found them to be sincere believers in the one true God, creator. . . ." Frater Alonso was not welcomed back to Castile, and he died in Muslim lands.⁹⁷ Frater Alonso—whose sympathies represent the extreme of a range of attitudes expressed in the literature of the Middle Ages—had clearly come up against the limits of tolerance for Islam in Christian Spain.

This essay has presented some of this range among a variety of texts and has argued, by implication, for a more nuanced understanding of medieval Western views of Islam. Specifically, it has suggested that the chansons de geste do not necessarily project either ignorance or complete and deliberate fiction; rather, there is a base of reality behind the epics. On the other hand, the prejudices against Saracens in these chansons might well be viewed in relation to a spectrum of chauvinistic attitudes regarding a variety of "others." This essay also suggests the need to examine further the role of legend, regional differences, and a greater range of texts with popular resonance, where even the absence of Saracens (particularly in some crusading texts) should be of interest. Among those texts examined in this chapter, descriptions of the Saracens range from the chivalrous to

the devilish, from religious to sacrilegious, while a growing number of voices promote relations between Muslims and Christians through efforts at peaceful conversion and a striking number of thoughtful voices question the doctrine of the non-salvation of “pagans.”

Notes

- * Revised version of a paper presented to a conference on “Images of the Other: Europe and the Muslim World before 1700” at the American University in Cairo, Spring, 1995.
1. While there is a case to be made for differentiating popular literature (chansons de geste, fabliaux, perhaps even vernacular histories and romances) from the more official Latin literature of letters, chronicles, canon law, and theology, in general, learned literature incorporated popular attitudes, and popular literature often reflected learned concerns. See John van Engen, “The Christian Middle Ages as an Historiographical Problem,” *American Historical Review* 91 (1986): 519–52. There is a great variety of fantastic and legendary material that survives in the learned literature as well as a great deal of sophisticated information in the popular literature, all of it mixed with a surprising range of negative and positive views on Islam.
 2. See the introductory chapter above. It has been traditional to argue that the Western view of Islam derives from negative Byzantine treatments of Islam, particularly that of Theophanes. But Theophanes was not totally negative; nor was he particularly expansive on Islam. Recent work on Byzantine views on Islam emphasizes a range of perspectives that could be nuanced, sophisticated, and also more accommodating than has been thought. Daniel Sahas, “The Art and Non-Art of Byzantine Polemics: Patterns of Refutation in Byzantine Anti-Islamic Literature,” in *Conversion and Continuity*, ed. M. Gervers and Ramzi Jibran Bikhazi (Toronto, 1990), 55–73; and David R. Blanks, in “Byzantium and the Muslim World,” *Images of the Other: Europe and the Muslim World before 1700*, ed. David R. Blanks (Cairo, 1997), 109–21. Blanks analyzes the cross-cultural contacts between Christians and Muslims, with particular emphasis on the accepting attitudes of the Byzantine epic *Digenis Akritas* (the Half-Breed Border Lord).
 3. For a recent discussion of the dating, see Luis Cortes, “Date et manuscrits de la Chanson,” in *La Chanson de Roland: Edition établie après le manuscrit d'Oxford*, ed. L. Cortes (Mayenne, 1994), 142–46.
 4. For the historical background, see Barton Sholod, *Charlemagne in Spain* (Geneva, 1966): 39–43; Eugene Vance, *Reading the Song of Roland* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1970), app. II; Paul Aebischer, *Préhistoire et protohistoire du Roland d'Oxford* (Frank Verne, 1972), 35–92.
 5. Similar legends have developed around other great defeats in history—the destruction of Troy, the defeat of the Britons by the Anglo-Saxons (which gave rise to the Arthurian legends), the German defeat in World War I, the Amer-

- ican defeat in Vietnam, to name a few. It is interesting that the defeat of the crusaders at Hattin in 1187 and the subsequent failure of the Third Crusade to retake Jerusalem have been obscured in western literature by the legendary exploits of Richard the Lion-hearted, whose romance includes some of the more gruesome descriptions of crusading treatment of Muslim captives.
6. Norman Daniel, *Heroes and Saracens: An Interpretation of the Chansons de Geste* (Edinburgh, 1984), chp. 2 passim; Paul Bancourt, *Les Muselmans dans les Chansons de Geste du Cycle du Roi* (Provence, 1982), 2 vols; and Barbara P. Edmonds, "Le portrait des Sarrasins dans la Chanson de Roland," *The French Review* 44, no. 5 (1971): 870–88 all argue that the *Chanson de Roland* presents the Saracens, fundamentally, as a mirror of Frankish society. W. W. Comfort, "The Saracens in the French Epic," *Proceedings of the Modern Language Association*, 55 (1940): 628–59 is more interested in the extent to which the Saracens represent something exotic, marvelous, and romantic—also a religious enemy, not too very different from the Franks, and relatively benign. Paul Bancourt suggests a more mixed portrait, with some of the Saracens full of pride—cruel and perfidious, while others are loyal, generous, and courtly, but he does not explore the full range of negative traits.
 7. See especially C. Meredith Jones, "The Conventional Saracen of the 'Songs of Geste,'" *Speculum* 17 (1942): 201–25. R. W. Southern, *Western Views of Islam in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, Mass., 1962), argues that such an erroneous idea could perpetuate itself as legend based on the ignorance of the audience for popular literature. Norman Daniel, *Heroes and Saracens*, rejects the idea that the notion of Saracens as idolaters was a matter of ignorance; he suggests, instead, that it was a deliberate fiction intended to amuse. (p. 121 and chaps. 6, 7). The adjective "pagan" does not necessarily describe an idolater in medieval sources, however. For many writers it appears to be no more than a synonym for non-Christian.
 8. Daniel Pipes gives a list of ethnic affiliations of slave soldiers from the eastern Mediterranean in the early Abbasid period, including black Africans, Turks, Khazars, Slavs, Greeks, Nabateans, and Yemeni. Pipes, *Slave Soldiers and Islam: the Genesis of a Military System* (New Haven and London, 1981), 183.
 9. Most of the slaves recruits were called *Saqaliba*, a term that is somewhat unclear but is generally assumed to mean Slav as well as slave.
 10. S. M. Imamuddin, *Muslim Spain 711–1492 AD: A Sociological Study* (Leiden, 1981), 29–31, 47, 65, 113; Daniel Pipes, *Slave Soldiers and Islam*, 171, makes the point that, for slave or freeman alike, military service offered the only avenue for advancement of non-Arabs within Islamic society; P. Crone, *Slaves on Horses: The Evolution of the Islamic Polity* (Cambridge, 1980), 74–81; see also E. Levi-Provencal, *Histoire de l'Espagne Musulmane* (Paris, 1950), vol. 2, 122–30.
 11. Bancourt, *Muselmans dans les Chansons*, 3–8.
 12. Jones, "The Conventional Saracen," 225, who concludes that these Saracens were modeled on biblical, heathen idolaters.

13. *Aymeri de Narbonne, chanson de geste*, ed. Louis Demaison (Paris, 1887), 2 vols. (laisses XLIX'XCV).
14. E. Langois, *Le Couronnement de Louis*, 2nd rev. (Paris, 1966); *Guillaume d'Orange, four Twelfth-Century Epics*, trans. Joan Ferrante (New York, 1974), 63–139. See II. 845–63.
15. *Aiol, chanson de geste* (Paris, 1877), ed. Gaston Raynaud and Jacques Normand. Alberic de Trois Fontaines remarked in the thirteenth century concerning "Aiol, de quo canitur a multis." (p. xxxiv).
16. *L'Entrée d'Espagne, chanson de geste franco-italienne*, ed. Antoine Thomas, 2 vols. (Paris, 1913), I, cii, ll. 2444–64. This work is first mentioned in a catalogue of Francesco Gonzaga at Mantua ca. 1407 and was probably written in the late fourteenth century. Its author is anonymous; a continuation was written by Nicholas of Verona.
17. Bancourt, *Muselmans dans les Chansons*, vol. 1, 340.
18. Suzanne Conklin Akbari, "Dissimilarity and Assimilation: The Representation of the East in Middle English Romances," 6–7, presentation to the Annual Meeting of the Medieval Academy, April 1996, revised and forthcoming. In the German context, see the thirteenth-century epic *Orendel* and the fourteenth-century epic of *St. Oswald*.
19. *The Romaunce of The Sowdone of Babylone*, ed. Emil Hausknecht (Early English Text Society, no. 38, 1881).
20. *The Middle High German Poem of Willehalm by Wolfram von Eschenbach*, Charles Passage, ed. and trans. (New York, 1977), 35, 13–17. See also *Wolfram von Eschenbach: Willehalm*, eds. and trans. Marion Gibbs and Sidney Johnson (London, 1984); and Alexander Carlson Mellow, "German Literature in the Age of Crusade," M. Phil., (Cambridge University, 1994).
21. Passage, *Willehalm*, 306–307.
22. *Le Voyage de Charlemagne à Jérusalem et à Constantinople: texte publié avec une introduction, des notes et un glossaire*, ed. Paul Aebischer (Geneva, 1965), 2nd ed; *The Pilgrimage of Charlemagne (Le Pèlerinage de Charlemagne)*, ed. and trans. Glyn Burgess; intro. A. E. Cobby (New York, 1988).
23. *Aucassin and Nicolette (Aucassin et Nicolette)*, ed A. N. Cobby, trans. and intro. Glyn Burgess (New York, 1988). The very few references to Saracens are matter-of-fact—Nicolette being purchased from the Saracens; her baptism; her being promised in marriage to a rich, pagan (Saracen) king.
24. The *Rolandslied*, a German version of the *Chanson de Roland*, was popular, however, with approximately 40 manuscripts surviving. Herbert Kolb, "Rolandslied-lesung im Deutschen Orden," *Internationales Archiv für Sozialgeschichte der deutsche Literatur* 15 (1990): 1–12.
25. *Herzog Ernst: ein mittelalterliches Abenteuerbuch*, ed. Karl Bartsch (Stuttgart, 1970); *The Legend of Duke Ernst*, J. W. Thomas and Carolyn Dussere, trans. (London, 1979).
26. The *Primera crónica general de España of Alfonso X*, ed. Ramón Menéndez Pidal, (Madrid, 1955) includes an early version of the legend of Rodrigo, where his defeat by the Moors parallels the Fall of Man and the Expulsion from Eden.

- The focus of the legend is on the evil-doings of the traitor Julian, whose daughter Rodrigo had violated, rather than on the Muslim conquest. Attention is also directed toward Rodrigo's repentance and the defeat of the Moors by the hero Pelayo. Cf. I, 310 where Julian is described as "oblidado de lealdad, desacordado de la ley, despreciador de Dios, cruel en si mismo, matador de su sennor, enemigo de su casa, destroydor de su tierra, culpado et alenoso et traydor contra todos los suyos." In contrast, the Muslims are of passing concern.
27. Defourneaux, "La Legenda de Bernardo del Carpio," *Bulletin Hispanique* 45 (1943): 117–38.
 28. See the thirteenth-century Italian *Conti di Antichi Cavalieri*, the thirteenth-century *Récits d'un Ménestral de Reims*, and the fifteenth-century *Roman de Salah al-Din*. John V. Tolan, "Mirror of Chivalry: Salah-al-Din in the Medieval European Imagination," in *Images of the Other: Europe and the Muslim World Before 1700*, ed. David R. Blanks (Cairo, 1997), 7–38.
 29. Although some of Chretien de Troyes's romances (especially *Cligès*) have a Byzantine background, scholars have also suggested that the origin for Chrétien's concept of the Holy Grail in the Percival legend may be Byzantine.
 30. *Der Parzival des Wolfram von Eschenbach*, ed. Dieter Kuhn, 2 vols. (Frankfurt, 1986); Arthur Thomas Hatto, ed. and trans., *Wolfram von Eschenbach: Parzival* (New York, 1987).
 31. Marcia Colish, in "The Virtuous Pagan: Dante and the Christian Tradition," in *The Unbounded Community: Conversations across Times and Disciplines*, ed. Duncan Fisher and William Caferro (New York, 1995), with a particular focus on the legend of Trajan and his salvation.
 32. Jocelyn Hillgarth, *Ramon Lull and Lullism in Fourteenth-Century France*, (Oxford, 1971), 24; Lull, *Arbre de Ciencia*, ORL, xii, 77. For an even more generous attitude, see the *Cantigas* of Alfonso X.
 33. B, 382ff. See also the comments of Ernest Kaulbach, "Islam in the *Glossa Ordinaria*," below.
 34. Cindy Vitto, *The Virtuous Pagan in Middle English Literature* (Philadelphia, 1989).
 35. John Wycliffe, *De Fide Catholica in Johannis Wycli Opera inora* (London, 1913), 112.
 36. M. D. Knowles, "The Censured Opinions of Uthred of Boldon," *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 37 (London, 1953) 305ff.
 37. Julian of Norwich, *Revelations of Divine Love* (Baltimore, 1966), 103, 109–13.
 38. Carl Erdmann, *The Origin of the Idea of Crusade* (Princeton, 1977) and H. E. J. Cowdrey, "The Genesis of the Crusades: The Springs of Western Ideas of Holy War," in *The Holy War*, ed. T. P. Murphy (Columbus, Ohio, 1976) argue that Gregory VII effectively initiated the concept of a Holy War against the Muslims. Erdmann's analysis has been challenged, and Cowdrey has modified his views. See E. O. Blake, "The Formation of the 'Crusade Idea,'" *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 21 (1970): 11–21; and I. S. Robinson, "Gregory VII and the Soldiers of Christ," *History*, n.s. 58 (1973): 169–92. H. E. J. Cowdrey, "Pope

- Gregory VII's 'Crusading' Plans of 1074," in *Outremer*, ed. B. Z. Kedar, H. E. Mayer, and R. C. Smail (Jerusalem, 1982), 27–40; Jonathan Riley-Smith, "The First Crusade and St. Peter," *Ibid.*, 41–63.
39. *The Correspondence of Pope Gregory VII: Selected Letters from the Registrum*, trans., with an introduction by Ephraim Emerton (New York, 1932), 57.
 40. *Correspondence of Gregory VII*, 94.
 41. Dana Carleton Munro, "The Speech of Pope Urban II at Clermont, 1095," *American Historical Review* 11 (1906): 231–42; Penny J. Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades to the Holy Land, 1095–1270* (Cambridge, Mass., 1991), chap. 1.
 42. Jonathan Riley-Smith, "The First Crusade and the Persecution of the Jews," in *Persecution and Tolerance*, ed. W. J. Sheils (Oxford, 1984), 51–72; Robert Chazan, *European Jewry and the First Crusade* (Berkeley, 1987); Shlomo Eidelberg, *The Jews and the Crusaders: The Hebrew Chronicles of the First and Second Crusades* (Madison, WI, 1977).
 43. *A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem 1095–1127*, trans. Frances Rita Ryan (Knoxville, TN, 1969), 122.
 44. *The Deeds of the Franks and the Other Pilgrims to Jerusalem*, ed. and trans. Rosalind Hill (London, 1962): 92. See also John Tolan, "Muslims as Pagan Idolaters in Chronicles of the First Crusade," below.
 45. Usama ibn Munqidh, a Syrian Arab who wrote an anecdotal autobiography in the twelfth century, gives several examples. See *Arab Historians of the Crusades*, ed. Francesco Gabrieli (Berkeley, CA, 1969), chap. 9.
 46. Frank M. Chambers, "Some Legends Concerning Eleanor of Aquitaine," *Speculum* 16 (1941): 459–68; D. D. R. Owen, *Eleanor of Aquitaine: Queen and Legend* (Oxford, 1993).
 47. Tolan, "Mirror of Chivalry," 7–38.
 48. Bradford B. Broughton, *The Legends of King Richard I Coeur de Lion* (The Hague, 1966); "Romance of Richard the Lion-Hearted," in *Richard the Lion-Hearted and other Medieval English Romances*, trans. and ed. B. B. Broughton (New York, 1966).
 49. Helen Nicholson, *Templars, Hospitallers and Teutonic Knights: Images of the Military Orders 1128–1291* (Leicester, 1993).
 50. F. Zarncke, "Zur Sage von Prester Johannes," *Neues Archiv* II (1887): 612–14, cited in Southern, *Western Views of Islam in the Middle Ages*, 46.
 51. Vsevolod Slessarev, *Prester John: the Letter and the Legend* (Minneapolis, 1959); L. N. Gumilev, *Searches for an Imaginary Kingdom: the Legend of the Kingdom of Prester John*, trans. R. E. F. Smith (Cambridge, 1987).
 52. Nestorianism is a Christian sect that originated with the views of Nestorius, Bishop of Constantinople in the early fifth century. His views, that the divine and human natures of Christ were independent and that Mary was not *Theotokos*, were condemned at the Council of Ephesus (431) and the Council of Chalcedon (451). Most of his followers lived in Asia Minor and Syria, although Nestorianism also spread to Egypt and to China and was influential with the Mongols in the thirteenth century. The Nestorian church was nearly obliterated by Timurlane in the fourteenth century.

53. *The Chronicle of Theophanes*, trans. Harry Turtledove (Philadelphia, 1982). The information Theophanes recorded with regard to Muslim history derived from a Greek translation of a late eighth-century chronicle written in Syriac. In his descriptions of Muhammad, Theophanes portrays him as a false prophet and the Islamic religion as a heresy. He includes reasonably accurate information with regard to Muhammad's life and teachings, the expansion of Islamic rule, the division between the Shi'ites and the Sunnis, and the emergence of Muslim extremist groups such as the Kharijites. See also Benjamin Kedar, *Crusade and Mission: European Approaches toward the Muslims* (Princeton, 1984), 85–86.
54. Daniel J. Sahas, *John of Damascus on Islam: the "Heresy of the Ishmaelites"* (Leiden, 1972); "John of Damascus on Islam, Revisited," *Abr-Nahrain* 23 (1984–85): 104–18.
55. The Eastern tradition that Muhammad's God was a pagan, materialist god, derives primarily from Nicetas of Byzantium, whose ninth-century polemics were widely influential and whose views stemmed not only from the earlier writers but also from his knowledge of the Qur'an. See Craig L. Hanson, "Manuel I Comnenus and the 'God of Muhammad,'" in *Medieval Christian Perceptions of Islam: A Book of Essays*, ed. J. V. Tolan (New York, 1996), 55–82.
56. Kedar, *Crusade and Mission*, 87.
57. This paragraph depends on the discussion of this point in Benjamin Kedar, *Crusade and Mission*, 87–90.
58. Kedar, *Crusade and Mission*, 87–88 citing Guibert of Nogent, *Gesta Dei per Francos*, I, 3, in RHC. HOcc. 4:130; and R. M. Thomson, "William of Malmesbury and Some Other Western Writers on Islam," *Medievalia et Humanistica* NS 6 (1975): 181–82.
59. Edward Tracy Brett, *Humbert of Romans: His Life and Views of Thirteenth-Century Society* (Toronto, 1984); Kedar, 89, citing Humbertus de Romanis, *Opusculum tripartitum*, I, 27, 205.
60. Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, trans. William G. Ryan, 2 vols. (Princeton, 1993), II, 372.
61. Kedar, *Crusade and Mission*, 90.
62. For example, Petrus Alfonsi's *Dialogi contra Judaeos*, written in the twelfth century, extant in more than 160 manuscripts, and frequently cited by medieval writers, offered the best-informed and thorough account attacking Islam to date. See John Tolan, *Petrus Alfonsi and his Medieval Readers* (Gainesville, Florida, 1993), xiv, chap. 2.
63. W. W. Comfort, "The Literary Role of the Saracens in the French Epic," *Proceedings of the Modern Language Association*, 55 (1940): 629–630. The word derives from the classical Latin name of an Arab tribe, the *Sarraceni*. Comfort suggests that Saracen meant, in the medieval context, any people whose religion was other than Christian. Thus, Saxons, Irish, Danes, and Vandals might be confused with Saracens. On the transfer of scientific knowledge and other cultural exchanges, see Alauddin Samarrai, "Arabs and Latins in the Middle Ages: Enemies, Partners, and Scholars," below.

64. James Kritzeck, *Peter the Venerable and Islam* (Princeton, 1964). Peter the Venerable's attitude toward Islam was strongly negative. In a letter to Bernard of Clairvaux in 1143 he characterized Islam as an "execrable and noxious heresy," a "pestilential doctrine," "impious," "a damnable sect," and Muhammad was an evil man. *Ep. Lib.* IV, xvii in *Patrologia cursus completus series Latina*, 139: 339–40. This letter, which was rewritten several times and serves as the preface to his collection of translations (the *Summa totius heresis ac diabolicæ sectæ Sarracenorum*), states his desire to clarify the beliefs of Islam and to correct the bizarre legends circulating among men ignorant of true history and with little desire to educate themselves.
65. There are more than 30 extant manuscripts.
66. Marie d'Alverny, "Deux traductions latines du Coran au Moyen Age," *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Age* 16 (1948): 69–131 describes the translation as mediocre, sometimes comical, and loose (86, 100ff).
67. Appended to Robert of Ketton's translation of the Qur'an was a Latin translation of the *Risala* of pseudo-al-Kindi done by Peter of Toledo, an apology and dialogue in defense of Christianity against Islam. The translation, however, preserves the irenic nature of the debate, including some rather favorable comments on Muhammad, later deleted by revisers. "Nos scimus esse duas fides: unam istius seculi, et alteram futuri. Fides vero et insitutio huius seculi est quam dedit Daradast. Fides autem futuri seculi est quam dedit Christus, orationes Dei super eum. Fides autem sana est unitas quam dedit Mahumet, noster propheta, oratio Dei super eum, et salus. Ipsa est fides que continet in se utriusque fidei modos, scilicet et istius seculi et futuri."
68. Thomas Burman, in a presentation to the Medieval Academy in 1996.
69. Alessandro D'Ancona, *La leggenda di Maometto in Occidente*, Studi di critica e storia letteraria, pt. ii, 2nd ed. (Bologna, 1912); for reactions and additional studies of Muhammad's legend, see d'Alverny, 74, n.5. For the description of Muhammad as the Beast of the Apocalypse, see the crusading appeal of Pope Innocent III in 1213, described in Southern, *Western Views of Islam in the Middle Ages*, 42, n. 10, the article by David Burr, "Antichrist and Islam in Medieval Franciscan Exegesis," in Tolan (ed.), *Medieval Christian Perceptions of Islam*, 131–52, and Suzanne Conklin Akbari, "The Rhetoric of Antichrist in Western Lives of Muhammad," *The Journal of Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations* 8 (1997): 297–307. In general, however, Muhammad and other Muslim leaders were seen as signs of the coming of Antichrist, but not as Antichrist himself. Joachim of Fiore, for example, saw Muhammad and other Muslim leaders as the fourth head of the seven-headed dragon (Rev. 12:3). Peter Olivi follows Joachim in this interpretation, as does Dante in *Purgatorio*, 32. Manselli, *La "Lectura super Apocalypsim" de Pietro di Giovanni Olivi* (Rome, 1955). Olivi tends to stress the role of Islam in the apocalypse more than others. Cf. David Burr, *Olivi's Peaceable Kingdom: A Reading of the Apocalypse Commentary* (Philadelphia, 1993), chap. 6.
70. Cf. Walter of Compiegne, *Otio de Machomete* with *Le Roman de Mahomet d'Alexandre du Pont*, ed. Klincksieck (Paris, 1977), intro., which was influ-

enced by the apocalypse of Bahira (ca. 820) where Islam is described as a heresy that Muhammad derived from hearing about Christianity from the monk Bahira. In the early biography of Muhammad by Ibn Hisham, Bahira predicts Muhammad's great destiny. In Byzantine sources, this Bahira (also named Sergius and Nestorius) became Muhammad's teacher. Legends made Bahira into a disaffected cardinal named Nicholas, and some later legends confuse Nicholas with Muhammad himself. See, for example, the *Liber de Haeresibus* of John of Damascus (eighth century) and Petrus Alfonsi's *Dialogi contra Iudaeos* (twelfth century).

71. Norman Daniel, *Islam and the West: The Making of an Image*, rev. ed. (Oxford, 1993), chap. 3.
72. In late medieval England, *The Golden Legend* was the most popular religious text, the one most often bequeathed in wills; it was commonly chained in parish churches for the clergy and general public to consult. J. Hoepfner Moran, *The Growth of English Schooling* (Princeton, 1985), 204.
73. *The Golden Legend*, II, 370–73. What is most interesting, however, is the extent to which Saracens and Muhammad are *absent* from the text. Occasionally Jacobus mentions that the Saracens took someone captive, scattered or burned the bones of a saint, and invaded a territory (I, 242, 246, 335; II, 46, 113, 128, 261), but the only sustained treatment of Islam is sandwiched between a highly negative account of the Lombards, embedded in a "Life of St. Pelagius," and relegated to the penultimate chapter.
74. See especially the two works by Humbert of Romans—*De Praedicatione Sanctae Crucis Contra Saracenos* and the *Opusculum Tripartitum*. See also Southern, *Western Views of Islam*, 42–44; 57 where he quotes Roger Bacon (*Opus Maius*, III, 122): "There are few Christians; the whole breadth of the world is occupied by unbelievers, and there is no one to show them the truth."
75. Brett, *Humbert of Romans*, chap. 11.
76. Easton, *Roger Bacon*, 135–36.
77. James Muldoon, *Popes, Lawyers and Infidels* (Philadelphia, 1979). These laws parallel Muslim laws on *dhimmis* or minorities.

Canon law on the Saracens developed only in the thirteenth century, emerging from the Fourth Lateran, in Gregory IX's Decretals, in papal letters, at the Second Council of Lyons (1274), and the Council of Vienne (1311–12). *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, ed. Norman P. Tanner, S. J., 2 vols. (Washington, D.C., 1990), vol. I. None of these strictures are repeated for the benefit of the English Church in ecclesiastical councils and synods from 1205 to 1313. *Councils & Synods with other Documents Relating to the English Church*, ed. F. M. Powicke and C. R. Cheney, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1964).

78. Larissa Taylor, *Soldiers of Christ: Preaching in Late Medieval and Reformation France* (Oxford, 1992), 154.
79. *Patrologia cursus completus series Latina*, vol. 205, 328.
80. This is one of the concerns expressed by Humbert of Romans in his *Opusculum Tripartitum*, written for the second Council of Lyons and directed to preachers to counter criticisms of the crusades. Salimbene, the thirteenth-century

Franciscan preacher, reported, in an oft quoted passage, that Christians were taunting friars, saying that they would rather give alms to Muslims than to Christians, since Muslims had proven themselves the stronger. Brett, 183; Salimbene, *Chronica*, in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, ss. 32: 327.

Sermon literature is a particularly good source for studying popular Western attitudes toward Islam. Unfortunately, there have been very few studies done of preaching of the First Crusade, cited above; Milton McC. Gatch, *Preaching and Theology in Anglo-Saxon England* (Toronto, 1977) finds no mention of Islam. There is more work done on preaching from the thirteenth century on. See especially David L. D'Avray, *The Preaching of the Friars: Sermons Diffused from Paris before 1300* (Oxford, 1985); Brett's work on Humbert of Romans; G. R. Owst, *Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England* (Oxford, 1961); J. W. Blench, *Preaching in England in the Late Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (New York, 1964); H. Leith Spencer, *English Preaching in the late Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1993); Taylor, *Soldiers of Christ: Preaching in Late Medieval and Reformation France*; studies and editions of texts by Siegfried Wenzel; and a variety of studies of preaching in late medieval-Renaissance Florence. With the exception of Brett's work on Humbert of Romans and various analyses of the sermons preached during the First Crusade, most of these studies do not suggest that preachers were very concerned with the threat of Islam or the status of Muslims. One of the more intriguing aspects of those sermons that did focus on Islam was the extent to which images and information from the chansons de geste were utilized.

81. Cf. Ricoldus de Monte Crucis's *Itinerarius*, written at the end of the thirteenth century. "Quis enim non obstupescat, si diligenter consideret, quanta in ipsis Sarracenis sollicitudo ad studium, devocio in oratione, misericordia in paupares, reverencia ad nomen Dei et prophetarum et loca sancta, gravitas in moribus, affabilitas ad extraneos, concordia et amor ad suos." *Peregrinatores medii aevi quattuor*, ed. Laurent (Leipzig, 1864), cap. 32.
82. *The Travels of Marco Polo*, trans. R. Latham (New York, 1958), 134–307. There are 70 extant manuscripts. A far more sympathetic and popular travel account is *Mandeville's Travels*, a fourteenth-century literary masterpiece from an author who may or may not have visited some of the places he describes. For Mandeville, Muslims were a virtuous counterpoint to the depravity of Christians. It was an enormously successful text, with 250+ extant manuscripts, translated into nearly every major European language by 1400. For an analysis, see Frank Grady, "'Machomete' and *Mandeville's Travels*," in Tolan, *Medieval Perceptions of Islam*, 271–88.
83. *Willelmi Tyrensis Archiepiscopi Chronicon*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens (Turnhout, 1986); William Archbishop of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, trans. E. A. Babcock and A. C. Krey (New York, 1941). See also P. W. Edbury and J. G. Rowe, *William of Tyre: Historian of the Latin East* (Cambridge, 1988).
84. *Chronicon*, bk. 20, chaps. 11, 31; bk. 21, chap. 6.
85. See M. R. Morgan, *The Chronicle of Ernoul and the Continuation of William of Tyre* (Oxford, 1973); Peter W. Edbury, "The Lyon Eracles and the Old

- French Continuation of William of Tyre," forthcoming, cited in Edbury, *The Conquest of Jerusalem and the Third Crusade: Sources in Translation* (London, 1996), 6, n. 11.
86. Edbury, *The Conquest of Jerusalem and the Third Crusade*.
 87. Edbury, *Conquest of Jerusalem*, 101.
 88. Edbury, *Conquest of Jerusalem*, 79.
 89. For the debate on this, see Palmer Throop, *Criticism of the Crusade: A Study of Public Opinion and Crusade Propaganda* (Amsterdam, 1940); and Elizabeth Siberry, *Criticism of Crusading* (Oxford, 1985); as well as Kedar, *Crusade and Mission*.
 90. *Opus Maius*, ed. J. H. Bridges, (Oxford, 1900), vol. 3, 120–22; Kedar, 177–78.
 91. *Selected Works of Ramon Llull 1232–1316*, ed. and trans. Anthony Bonner, 2 vols. (Princeton, 1985), especially the *Ars Brevis* in vol. 1; see also Mark D. Johnston, *The Spiritual Logic of Ramon Llull* (Oxford, 1987).
 92. The Council of Vienne (1311–12) decreed the establishment of schools of Hebrew, Arabic, and Chaldean at Paris, Oxford, Bologna, Salamanca, and at the Roman curia for purposes of proselytizing, translating books from those languages into Latin, and teaching others those languages. Tanner, *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, vol. 1, 379–80. It was a stillborn project.
 93. Norman Daniel cites two other medieval authors, San Pedro Pascual and Ricoldo da Monte di Croce, both of whom were exceedingly well informed with regard to Islam, both of whom wrote polemics for the use of missionaries, and both of whom had very little readership. For Ricoldo's trip to the Middle East in the 1290s, see U. Monneret de Villard, *Il libro della Peregrinazione nelle Parti d'Oriente* (Rome, 1948) and *Peregrinatores medii aevi quattuor*. There are also two early fourteenth-century pilgrimage accounts, both well informed, both extremely negative, neither of which were widely read. See the *Itinerarium Symeonis ab Hybernia ad Terram Sanctam*, ed. M. Esposito (*Scriptores Latini Hiberniae*, IV), 1960, and the *Liber Peregrinationis di Jacopo da Verone*, ed. U. Monneret de Villard (Rome, 1950).
 94. On John of Segovia, see Dario Cabanelas Rodriguez, *Juan de Segovia y el Problema Islamico* (Madrid, 1952).
 95. Nicholas of Cusa, *On Interreligious Harmony, Text, Concordance and Translation of De pace Fidei*, ed. Biechler and Bond (Lewiston, ME, 1991).
 96. Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini, *Epistola ad Mahomatem II*, ed. and trans. Albert Baca (New York, 1990), 88, 194. For an analysis of this letter in the context of Pius's overall crusading and political strategies, see Robert Schwoebel, *The Shadow of the Crescent: The Renaissance Image of the Turk* (New York, 1967), esp. chap. 3, 65–67.
 97. *Christians and Moors in Spain*, ed. Colin Smith (Warminster, 1988—), vol. 2, 134–35.

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CHAPTER THREE

The Image of the Saracen as Heretic in the Sermons of Ademar of Chabannes*

Michael Frassetto

Richard Southern once noted that the “existence of Islam was the most far-reaching problem in medieval Christendom.”¹ From the birth of Islam to ca. 1100, however, Southern observes that Western Christians did not demonstrate the preoccupations with nor the burning hostility toward the Saracen that their Byzantine contemporaries and Western successors would.² It was not until about 1100 that the Western attitude toward the Saracen became more belligerent.³ This transition to a more hostile attitude was not so sudden or dramatic as it may at first appear. Indeed, as R. I. Moore has recently demonstrated, the system of classification of the “other,” that existed in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, emerged first at the time of the millennium.⁴

The stereotype of the Saracen as a heretic or enemy of the faith that was promulgated by Western writers like Guibert of Nogent, Peter the Venerable, Robert of Ketton, and, especially the authors of the *chansons de geste*, first found expression in the early eleventh-century works of Ademar of Chabannes (ca. 989–1034).⁵ A monk of Angoulême and Limoges, Ademar was a voluminous writer whose works include an illustrated *Psychomachia*,

hagiographical works, history, musical compositions, pious forgeries, and sermons. Impresario of the cult of St. Martial and an advocate of the important Peace of God movement, Ademar was a writer whose literary corpus reveals many of the important developments of his age. Indeed, at the time that the chansons themselves were evolving in oral form, this Limousin monk's history and, more importantly, his numerous unedited sermons provide written evidence of the transformation of the Western perception of the Saracen.⁶ Clearly, Ademar's corpus offers valuable insights into the formation of the image of the Saracen as the enemy that would predominate in the later eleventh and twelfth century.

It would be useful to begin with a brief summary of the image of the Saracen that appeared at the hands of twelfth-century writers. In both learned and popular works, the Saracen appears as a polytheist, heretic, or enemy of the faith. In the chansons de geste Saracens are portrayed as idolaters who practiced perverse rites, blasphemed the Christian God, and worshipped the gods Muhammad, Apollyon, and Termagant.⁷ Although faring better in learned works, the Saracen remains the focus of Western polemic. Many commentators include slanderous accounts of the life of Muhammad and vehement denunciations of the Qur'an and Islam in their works.⁸ Guibert of Nogent provides a particularly good example of the growing hostility toward Islam. In his history of the First Crusade, Guibert provides the most scandalous account of the life of Muhammad, declaring "it is safe to speak evil of one whose malignity exceeds whatever ill can be spoken."⁹ Even Peter the Venerable, who provided one of the most enlightened approaches to Islam, identifies the Saracen as a heretic and precursor of Antichrist.¹⁰ Indeed, learned and popular writers developed the image of the Saracen as enemy to justify the crusades and express their own religious fervor.¹¹

A similar combination of hostility and piety would contribute to Ademar's creation of a stereotyped image of the Saracen. His concerns with the forces of Islam, like Guibert and Peter the Venerable's, were inspired by internal and external threats. The lingering fear of the Saracens who had recently kidnapped Majolus, abbot of Cluny, and other local and distant events turned Ademar's attention to the enemies of the faith. Consequently, in his sermons and *Chronicon*, he developed an image of the Saracen as a heretic and as a minion of Antichrist, which foreshadows the Saracens' portrayal in the twelfth century and makes Ademar an important precursor of the polemicists of the next century.

Like many of his twelfth-century successors, Ademar's concern with the Saracen was stimulated both by events in the Holy Lands and by changes in his native Aquitaine. His attention to the issue of the Saracen was inspired by the destruction of the Holy Sepulchre in 1010 by the caliph al-Hakim (996–1021).¹² According to Ademar, the destruction of the church was part

of broad a Jewish-Muslim conspiracy aimed against all Christendom. The actions of al-Hakim followed the forced conversion of the Jews in Limoges by Bishop Hilduin. In response to this violent act, the Jews sent a message to the caliph warning him of the dangers of Western arms. Upon receiving this warning, al-Hakim began to persecute the Christians, and destroy their holy sites. Indeed, great persecution was endured by the Christians many of whom suffered forced conversions until a great famine struck and al-Hakim disappeared.

Ademar's telling of the incident assumes a pronounced eschatological character and clearly associates the Saracens with Antichrist.¹³ Ademar understood that the destruction of the churches and the persecution of the Christians by al-Hakim were signs of the last days. Al-Hakim himself assumes the central role in the eschatological drama, not only because he persecuted Christians, but also because he "raised himself up in pride against God."¹⁴ Ademar identifies the caliph with Antichrist by calling him *rex Babylonius* and *Nabuchodonosor Babiloniae*, one of the primary medieval apocalyptic *topoi*.¹⁵ Moreover, his assumption that the Saracens were heterodox Christians reinforces their eschatological status, because Ademar accepted the notion that heretics were the precursors of Antichrist.¹⁶ Thus, in his history, Ademar characterizes the Saracen as the enemy of the faith and also ascribes to him a role in the great drama of Antichrist.

By incorporating the Saracen into the story of Antichrist, Ademar associates the Saracen with those heretics and false apostles who, as Paul prophesied, would come at the end of time. The association of Saracen and heretic is confirmed in this passage, moreover, by Ademar's references to the Jews. The conspiracy of Muslim and Jew is the centerpiece of the story as told by Ademar, and reveals the supposed Jewish-Islamic hostility to Christianity. This alleged alliance between European Jews and Egyptian Muslims provides Ademar and others of his age more evidence that the Jews were, as Allan and Hellen Cutler note, "Islamic fifth columnists in Christian territory."¹⁷ It is this perception of the Jew as ally of the Saracen that would, in part, lead to the terrible Jewish pogroms by crusading knights at the end of the century.¹⁸

It is important to note, however, that not only did the Jews take on the characteristics of the Saracens for Ademar and others, but also that the Saracens inherited the traits Western writers identified with the Jews.¹⁹ Moreover, as Ademar's own history demonstrates, this association of Jew and Muslim emerged at a time of growing anti-Semitism in medieval society.²⁰ This emerging hostility appears not only in the tale of the conspiracy between Jews and Muslims, but also in Ademar's account of the ritual Easter slap of a Jew and of a group of Roman Jews in 1020 who mocked the cross.²¹ The derision of the most sacred of Christian symbols, an action Ademar

claims certain "Manichaeans" in the West also advocated, clearly established for this monk the nature of the Jews as enemies of the faith. It also demonstrates the type of apocryphal story that would become part of anti-Semitic lore and cast the Jew into the role of heretic. In fact, as Joshua Trachtenberg observes, "the Jew was inevitably looked upon as a heretic—indeed, *the* [emphasis his] heretic."²² At the very moment that Ademar and his contemporaries were devising a new, negative image of the Jews, their attention was also focused on the Saracen. In the mind of Ademar and his contemporaries, therefore, the Jew and the Saracen were enemies who plotted against the Christian faith and rejected its teachings.

As valuable as Ademar's history is for understanding the development of European hostility to Jews and Muslims, it is in the sermons that Ademar fully develops the themes existing in his history and offers his most complete presentation of the Saracen as enemy of the faith. In the sermons, Ademar demonstrates his most pressing concern: the issue of heresy and orthodoxy.²³ Like Guibert of Nogent and Peter the Venerable, Ademar was deeply troubled by the rising tide of religious dissent in his age.²⁴ The monk of Aquitaine himself chronicles the sudden and dramatic revival of heresy at the turn of the millennium. In his history, Ademar describes the appearance of "Manichaeans" in Aquitaine, Toulouse, Orleans, and elsewhere in the West.²⁵ These "Manichaeans" seemed to orthodox churchmen of the day to be part of a broad movement of heretics rising up throughout all of Europe and spreading their false message to unsuspecting Christians. Clearly shaken by the reappearance of heresy, orthodox churchmen responded in a variety of ways, including the execution of a number of heretics at Orleans. The sermons, written in the early 1030s and now found in Paris B.N. MS. Lat. 2469 and Berlin, D.S. MS. Lat. Philipps 1664, are, in part, Ademar's response to the appearance of heretics in Aquitaine during the preceding decade and a half. Throughout his numerous sermons, the monk of Aquitaine addresses a number of doctrinal matters and denounces both heresy in general and particular heresies from the history of the church in order to distinguish clearly the true faith from the false. For Ademar, the Saracens were closely related to the heretics of his own day and with the great heretics of the past, including the Arians and Sabellians, because of their shared threat to the Christian faith and, especially, their doctrinal errors.

At various points throughout his sermons, but most clearly in the later collection of the two now in Berlin, Ademar demonstrates his understanding of the Saracens as outsiders by including them in lists of the Catholic faith's opponents. In the sermon *De Eucharistia* (fols. 70v–78v), he separates true believers from those in error, explaining that the Catholic Church alone is the true congregation of Christians and that the "congregation of Jews, pagans, Saracens and all heretics" is outside of the true Church.²⁶ In another

sermon, he observes that no "Jew, Saracen, pagan or heretic may ever be saved unless they are among those who believe in the faith of St. Peter."²⁷ Furthermore, in a passage possibly recalling the association of the Saracen with the forces of Antichrist in the *Chronicon*, Ademar tells a putative conciliar audience that the Catholic faith is the destruction of "Jews and also Saracens and pagans and heretics and antichrists and devils."²⁸ Thus for Ademar, Saracens—like Jews, heretics, and antichrists—stand outside the true faith and are opposed to it.

Although these brief passages reveal Ademar's general attitude about the Saracens, it is in his *Sermo ad Sinodum de Catholica Fide* (fols. 83r–96r) that he indulges in the most virulent attacks on the Saracen as heretic.²⁹ This sermon, the longest and most complex of the corpus, contains examinations of many of the central doctrinal concerns of Ademar. Focusing on the several tenets of the creed, Ademar repudiates the teachings of the heretics, including their Trinitarian doctrines. This is the most serious of errors because of the insult it offers to God, and is the one for which the Saracens deserve the most blame.³⁰ After defending the Catholic definition of the Trinity, Ademar argues that the Saracens lie when they claim to believe in one God and insult Christians when they accuse them of worshipping three gods.³¹ Moreover, although the Saracens assert belief in one God, they reject the Trinity and thus both deny God and provoke his wrath by their blasphemy.³²

The Trinitarian errors of the Muslims, in Ademar's confused understanding, were not limited to the complete rejection of the Christian doctrine but included a misunderstanding of the true nature of the Trinity. According to Ademar, "There are many Saracens who say they believe in the holy Trinity but who do not believe in the incarnation of the Lord."³³ This error is as grievous as the general rejection of the Trinity, for it amounts to heretical repudiation of Catholic teaching. Furthermore, it is most likely that Ademar saw this alleged doctrine of the Saracens as a further example of their status as heretics. In fact, the Saracens' rejection of the incarnation of Christ is similar to the Aquitanian heretics' rejection of the redeemer of the world described by Ademar in his chronicle.³⁴ For Ademar, thus, acceptance of the Trinity was one of the central demands of orthodoxy and, in whatever form it took, the Saracens' denial of this tenet separated them from the body of believers. And, as many other polemicists would, Ademar offers Christian apology in his denunciation of Saracen errors concerning the Trinity.³⁵

Anticipating the likes of Peter the Venerable, Robert of Ketton, and others, Ademar places his commentary on Saracen errors in the context of Christian heresies and continues his sermon with a discussion of the errors of the Sabellians and Arians.³⁶ In this way he more clearly demonstrates that the Saracens are heretics because they hold beliefs similar to the great religious dissidents of the past. After restating the Catholic doctrine of the unity

of the triune god, Ademar denounces the errors of the Sabellians who fail to recognize the three distinct persons of the godhead.³⁷ These heretics erred, he says, by confounding the three persons into one person and foolishly merging the three instead of recognizing the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.³⁸ And, as he notes elsewhere in this sermon, Catholics do not confuse the three persons nor separate the substance, but those Sabellians who believe incorrectly teach that “there is one person in God and not three just as there is one person in one man.”³⁹ In fact, Ademar’s explanation of the Sabellian tendency to emphasize the unity of the godhead at the expense of the Trinity recalls his own observation that the Saracens honor the unity but not Trinity of God. Indeed, in one of the few passages that come close to identifying the actual teachings of Islam, Ademar notes that the Saracens believe in “God immortal” but do so incorrectly by failing to recognize the three distinct persons.⁴⁰ The Saracens, like the Sabellians, make God into a single person—“the father alone who [was] the creator of all things”—and fail to recognize the Son and Holy Spirit.⁴¹ With this discussion, Ademar introduces an argument that will be repeated by many writers in the coming century, including Peter the Venerable who declares that the Saracen “denies the Trinity with Sabellius.”⁴²

Continuing his comparison of the Saracens with the ancient heretics, the monk of Aquitaine turns to the Arians. In this comparison of Arians and Saracens, he develops an argument similar to that of the annotator of Robert of Ketton, who observes that “in this man [Muhammad] the Arian heresy lived again.”⁴³ Once more the issue dividing the heretics from the Catholic faith is Trinitarian. According to Ademar, the Arians, like the Sabellians, err on the matter of the nature of the godhead, but, unlike them, Arians “separate the single substance of God into three substances.”⁴⁴ Although no Muslim would accept, nor even conceive of such a doctrine, in the mind of the medieval West the association was valid because of the denial of Catholic teaching shared by Muslims and Arians.

In his denunciation of the Arians, Ademar clearly intends to reject any unorthodox view of the godhead, including that of the Saracens. Indeed, like Ketton’s annotator, Ademar recognizes in the Saracens the revival of the Arian heresy, because in them the Church faces one of its greatest enemies. Throughout the history of the Church, the Arians were recognized as the arch-heretics because of the threat they mounted to the integrity of the faith. Arian was a term frequently employed to identify those who held unorthodox views and to place these views outside acceptable doctrine.⁴⁵ For Ademar and all Western commentators, the doctrines of the Saracen were as unacceptable as those of the Arians. Furthermore, we learn in this sermon that the Council of Nicaea established the precedent of orthodoxy to be followed by all. To oppose the teachings of Nicaea would mean acceptance of

heresy, including what Ademar calls the "haeresi Sarracenorum."⁴⁶ Therefore, it was the fundamental Trinitarian error of the Arians and Saracens that bound them together as the great enemies of the Church and that led Ademar to place them in context together in his defense of the Catholic creed.

Ademar's commentary on the Saracen in the sermon *De Catholica Fide* is not limited to a discussion of perceived theological errors, but extends to gross caricatures of Saracen rites. Even though these passages are limited in number and length, they reveal the hostile, polemical attitude that would come to characterize twelfth-century literary treatments of Islam, Muhammad, and the Saracen. In fact, Ademar's distortions of Islamic belief and practice are not unlike those of the chansons writers who presented all things "perverse, wicked, detestable . . . as an integral part of Saracen doctrine."⁴⁷ In two passages from this sermon, Ademar slanders Muslim religious rites by portraying them in a most detestable fashion. In one extended section, Ademar describes a sacrificial offering of food and drink that is devoured and desecrated by black dogs.⁴⁸ A second passage further ridicules Saracen rites and foreshadows later descriptions of the witches' sabbath. In what is a clear inversion of Christian practice, Ademar describes the Saracen exchange of the ritual kiss. The Saracens, the Aquitaine monk asserts, "do not believe in the true God, who is true peace, and thus never give the kiss of peace."⁴⁹ Instead of this most honored practice, the Saracens turn the Christian rite upside down and indulge in a ritual anal kiss.⁵⁰ Indeed, the Saracen, according to Ademar, does not merely reject Christian teaching but also mocks it by parodying Christian rites. Thus, with his scandalous portrayal of Islamic ritual Ademar further separates the Saracen from the community of the Christian faithful.

For Ademar, the perverse rituals of the Saracen are a central part of their doctrine, a doctrine that leads them away from belief in the Christian god and into wickedness.⁵¹ As a result of their blasphemous beliefs, Ademar informs us, the Saracens are guilty of the worst sexual excesses. In one of his few accurate comments about the Muslims, Ademar asserts that one male may have several wives at the same time.⁵² This observation reflects little attempt to understand the social and historical context of Islamic practice, but rather demonstrates the Western sense of the unorthodox marital practices of the Saracens at a time when the Church strove to establish monogamy in Christian marriage.⁵³ Moreover, Ademar's recognition of Muslim marital practices reveals the Western belief in the lascivious nature of the Saracen. An even more egregious accusation concerning Saracen sexual practices is Ademar's contention that "burning with concupiscence and without modesty, men lie with men, women with women . . . and people copulate with animals."⁵⁴ In this passage, Ademar, drawing on Paul's Epistle to the Romans, describes a people who have turned their backs on God and indulge

in the pleasures of the flesh. By citing this reference from Paul, Ademar clearly intended to separate the God-fearing Christian from the degenerate Saracen. For Ademar, the Saracens' rejection of the true faith led to their unrestrained lusts and desire to destroy Christian virtue. Moreover, although patently false, this image of the lustful Saracen would become a permanent part of the negative stereotype of Muslims by hostile Western writers.

The alleged depravity of the Saracens is one more trait they shared with their Western Jewish allies. Once more the developing images of the Muslim and Jew overlap to reinforce one another and to strengthen the notion that these two peoples worked together to undermine all of Christendom. Like the Saracen, the Jew was accused of having an excessively lustful nature.⁵⁵ Indeed, it is likely that those who described the immorality of the Jews in the West understood this as a reflection of the concupiscence of their Eastern allies.⁵⁶ And, because Ademar accepted the belief in the Jewish-Muslim conspiracy, he was certain to have conflated Jewish lasciviousness with Saracen depravity.

Ademar's characterization of the Saracens as corrupt and immoral can be understood as a means of associating the Saracens not only with the Jews but also with heretics appearing in Aquitaine and elsewhere in Europe at the time of the millennium.⁵⁷ The accusations of Saracen sexual excesses recall similar remarks Ademar and other writers of the early eleventh century made about heretics appearing in their midst. In his *Chronicon*, Ademar observes that the "Manichaeans" appearing in Aquitaine seemed as chaste as monks but "among themselves practiced every type of depravity."⁵⁸ Moreover, when discussing the heretics of Orleans, he notes that they "secretly rejected Christ and practiced abominations and crimes of which it is shameful to speak."⁵⁹ An even more lurid tale of the sexual impropriety of the heretics of Orleans is told by Paul of St. Pere de Chartres, who describes the orgiastic rites of the heretics in full detail.⁶⁰ Paul's account confirms the impression evident in Ademar's writings that in the mind of an eleventh-century monk, sexual misconduct and religious error were inextricably intertwined. Ademar's attribution of sexual impropriety to the Saracens is thus one more element of his general impression of the Saracen as heretic.

Concerns with sexual propriety were especially prominent in the eleventh century and constitute one of the central themes of the reform movement in that age.⁶¹ In the early eleventh century, the Peace councils of Aquitaine emphasized the importance of sexual purity and began to legislate against the heresy of simony. Similar legislation would be promulgated by the Gregorian reformers beginning at mid-century. Fears of the sexual pollution of the Christian community and the desire to prohibit this pollution were stimuli for reform. These fears also contributed to the process of definition that was occurring, beginning in Ademar's time. In order to avoid pollution, Ademar

and his contemporaries instituted a strict regimen of sexual morality. Accusations of simony and sexual impropriety were intended to cleanse the body of Christian faithful and separate out those who were stained with sexual excess. Consequently, the enemies of the faith—heretics, Jews, and Saracens—were naturally believed to be guilty of immoral sexual practices. They were described as excessively lascivious and were identified with a broad movement that sought “the destruction of the Church . . . and the restoration of Satan’s kingdom by means of unrestrained sexual licence.”⁶² Thus, Ademar’s imputation of sexual excesses to heretics and Saracens was a means of creating an image of a single, united enemy of the faith, and of distinguishing them from the body of the true faithful in order to preserve the purity of the Christian community.

Clearly then, Ademar’s understanding of the Saracen as heretic and minion of Antichrist is of great significance. His interest in portraying Muslims in this manner provides an illustration of the transition from the earlier age of ignorance to the age of Peter the Venerable and the crusades. Indeed, his corpus represents a very important step in the development of the hostility to the “other” that would contribute to the mindset of the crusaders themselves. Moreover, the material from his sermons provides valuable insights into the development of the European mentality itself, as it formed into what R. I. Moore recently described as a “persecuting society.”⁶³ Beginning in Ademar’s own age, European society began to develop intellectual and institutional structures that would sanction attacks against “groups of people defined by general characteristics such as race, religion or way of life.”⁶⁴ Ademar’s hostility to the Saracens and characterization of them as heretics demonstrates this process of definition and also illustrates the emergence of the image of the Saracen as “other,” an image that twelfth-century writers would fully develop.

Notes

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1. Richard Southern, *Western Views of Islam in the Middle Ages*, 2d printing (Cambridge, Mass., 1978), 3.
2. Southern, *Western Views of Islam*, 1–27. Benjamin Z. Kedar, *Crusade and Mission European Approaches toward the Muslims* (Princeton, 1984), 27–35, argues that Westerners before ca. 1100 were better informed about Islam than Southern suggests, but that they were not preoccupied with it. See also Marie Thérèse d’Alverny, “La Connaissance de l’Islam en occident du IXe au milieu du XIIe siècle,” *L’Occidente e l’Islam nell’Alto Medioevo* (Spoleto,

- 1965), 577–602, David R. Blanks, “Byzantium and the Muslim World,” in *Images of the Other: Europe and the Muslim World Before 1700*, ed. David R. Blanks, *Cairo Papers in Social Science* 19 (1997): 109–21; and John Meyendorff, “Byzantine Views of Islam,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 18 (1964): 113–32.
3. D’Alverny, “Connaissance de l’Islam,” 598; Norman Daniel, *The Arabs and Mediaeval Europe*, 2d ed. (New York, 1979), 114–15 and 235–52; John France, “The First Crusade and Islam,” *The Muslim World* 67 (1977): 247–57; Kedar, *Crusade and Mission*, 25; James Kritzeck, “Moslem-Christian Understanding in Medieval Times A Review Article,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 4 (1962): 392–95, and Dana C. Munro, “The Western Attitude Toward Islam During the Period of the Crusades,” *Speculum* 6 (1930): 329–43. But see the cautions voiced against this generality in the essays by David R. Blanks and Jo Ann H. Moran Cruz.
 4. R. I. Moore, *The Formation of a Persecuting Society* (Oxford, 1987).
 5. For discussion of these authors and other Western Christian writers see the essays in *Images of the Other*, ed. David R. Blanks, and *Medieval Christian Perceptions of Islam: A Book of Essays*, ed. John V. Tolan (New York and London, 1996).
 6. The sermons remain in two unedited manuscripts, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. Lat. 2469, fols. 1r–112v and Berlin Deutsches Staatsbibliothek, MS. Lat. Phillipp 1664, fols. 58v–170v, which Daniel Callahan and I are editing for publication. For Ademar see Daniel Callahan, “The Sermons of Ademar and the Cult of St. Martial of Limoges,” *Revue Bénédictine* 86 (1976): 251–294 and Daniel Callahan, “Ademar of Chabannes, Apocalypticism and the Peace Council of Limoges of 1031,” *Revue Bénédictine* 101 (1991): 32–49; Leopold Delisle, “Notice sur les manuscrits originaux d’Ademar de Chabannes,” *Notice et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale* 35 (1896), 241–385; Michael Frassetto, “The Art of Forgery: The Sermons of Ademar of Chabannes and the Cult of St. Martial of Limoges,” *Comitatus* 26 (1995): 11–26; James Grier, “*Ecce sanctum quem deus elegit Marciallem apostolum*: Ademar de Chabannes and the Tropes for the Feast of Saint Martial,” *Beyond the Moon: Festschrift Luther Dittmer*, eds. Bryan Gillingham and Paul Merkley (Ottawa, 1990), 28–74; Richard Landes, *Relics, Apocalypse, and the Deceits of History: Ademar of Chabannes, 989–1934* (Cambridge, Mass., 1995); H. B. Porter, “The Rites of the Dying in the Early Middle Ages, I: St. Theodulf of Orleans,” *Journal of Theological Studies*, new series, 10 (1959): 43–62; Herbert Schneider, “Ademar von Chabannes und Pseudoisidor—der ‘Mythomane’ und der Erzfälscher,” *Fälschungen im Mittelalter*, vol. 2 Gefälschte Rechtstexte der bestraften Fälscher (Hanover, 1988), 129–150, and Robert Lee Wolff, “How the News was brought from Byzantium to Angoulême; or the Pursuit of a Hare in an Ox Cart,” *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 4 (1978): 138–89.

Until the edition by Richard Landes appears, see edition of the history by Jules Chavanon, *Chronique d’Ademar de Chabannes* (Paris, 1897).

7. For the image of the Saracen in the chansons see William Wistar Comfort, "The Literary Role of the Saracens in the French Epic," *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* 55 (1940): 628–59; Norman Daniel, *Heroes and Saracens: A Reinterpretation of the Chansons of Geste* (1983) and C. Meredith Jones, "The Conventional Saracen of the Songs of Geste," *Speculum* 17 (1942): 201–25. Useful discussion of the chansons may be found in Jean-Pierre Poly and Eric Bournazel, *The Feudal Transformation 900–1200*, trans. Caroline Higgitt (New York, 1991), 319–32.
8. For references and bibliography see d'Alverny, "Connaissance de l'Islam," 597–98; Comfort, "Literary Role of the Saracens," 634–35; and Daniel, *Arabs and Medieval Europe*, 235–40.
9. Southern, *Western Views of Islam*, 30–31, quotation from p. 31.
10. For Peter the Venerable and Islam see the articles by M. T. d'Alverny, Virginia Berry, and J. Kritzeck in *Petrus Venerabilis 1156–1956 Studies and Texts Commemorating the Eighth Century of his Death*, eds. Giles Constable and James Kritzeck (Rome, 1956). Also see M. T. d'Alverny, "Deux Traductions Latines du Coran au Moyen Age," *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Age* 16 (1948): 69–131 and, especially, J. Kritzeck, *Peter the Venerable and Islam* (Princeton, 1964).
11. Jones, "Conventional Saracen," 202–203.
12. *Chronique*, 3:47, 169–70. The incident, which actually took place in 1009, is reported also by the Burgundian Rodolphus Glaber in *Rodulfi Glabri Historiarum Libri Quinque*, ed. and trans. John France (Oxford, 1989), 3:7.24–25, 132–37, who also notes that the destruction took place in 1010. See also Southern, *Western Views of Islam*, 28.
For al-Hakim see Robert Benton Betts, *The Druze* (New Haven, Conn., 1988), chap. 1; Marius Canard, "La Destruction de l'église de la resurrection par la calife Hakim et l'histoire de la descente du feu sacré," *Byzantion* 35 (1965): 16–43, and Marshall G. S. Hodgson, "Duruz," *Encyclopedia of Islam*, vol. 2 (Leiden, 1965), 631–37.
13. For Ademar's apocalypticism see Callahan, "Ademar of Chabannes, Apocalypticism and the Peace," 32–49; Daniel Callahan, "The Problem of the 'Filioque' and the Letter from the Pilgrim Monks of the Mount of Olives to Pope Leo III and Charlemagne. Is the Letter another Forgery by Ademar of Chabannes?," *Revue Bénédictine* 102 (1992): 111–29, and Michael Frassetto, "The Writings of Ademar of Chabannes, the Peace of 994, and the 'Terrors of the Year 1000,'" (forthcoming).
14. *Chronique*, 3.47, 169. Al-Hakim "se contra Deum erexerat in superbiam."
15. *Chronique*. For the medieval view of Nebuchadnezzar see David J. Bernstein, *The Mystery of the Bayeux Tapestry* (Chicago, 1986), 181–89.
16. *Chronique*, 3.49, 173 where Ademar identifies the heretics in Aquitaine as "nuncii Antichristi."
17. Allan Harris Cutler and Helen Elmquist Cutler, *The Jew as Ally of the Muslim Medieval Roots of Anti-Semitism* (Notre Dame, Indiana, 1986), 96.

18. Jonathan Riley-Smith, "The First Crusade and the Persecution of the Jews," in *Persecution and Toleration Studies in Church History* 21 (Oxford, 1984), 67.
19. Riley-Smith, "The First Crusade and the Persecution of the Jews," 67.
20. On the development of anti-Semitism in the early eleventh century see Robert Chazan, "1007–1012: Initial Crisis for Northern European Jews," *American Academy for Jewish Research* (1970–1971): 101–117, esp. 109–110, and Moore, *Formation of a Persecuting Society*, 29–42. For Ademar's place in this emerging anti-Semitism see Daniel F. Callahan, "Ademar of Chabannes, Millennial Fears and the Development of Western Anti-Judaism," *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 46 (1995): 19–35. And for the general issue of anti-Semitism in the Middle Ages see Cutler and Cutler, *Jew as Ally of the Muslim*, esp. 94–96 and, especially, Joshua Trachtenberg, *The Devil and the Jews The Medieval Conception of the Jew and its Relation to Modern Antisemitism* (New York, 1961).
21. *Chronique*, 3.52, 175.
22. Trachtenberg, *Devil and the Jews*, 174.
23. For Ademar's concern with heresy see Michael Frassetto, "The Sermons of Ademar of Chabannes and the Origins of Medieval Heresy," (Ph.D. diss., University of Delaware, 1993) and Michael Frassetto, "Reaction and Reform: Reception of Heresy in Arras and Aquitaine in the Early Eleventh Century," *Catholic Historical Review* 83 (1997): 385–400.
24. For the rebirth of heresy in the early eleventh century see Antoine Dondaine, "L'origine de l'hérésie médiévale," *Rivista di storia della chiesa in Italia* 9 (1951): 47–78; Heinrich Fichtenau, "Zur Erforschung der Haeresien des 11. und 12. Jahrhunderts," *Römische Historische Mitteilungen* 31 (1989): 75–91; Heinrich Fichtenau, *Heretics and Scholars in the High Middle Ages, 1000–1200*, trans. Denise A. Kaiser (University Park, PA, 1998); Richard Landes, "Between Aristocracy and Heresy: Popular Participation in the Limousin Peace of God, 994–1033," in *The Peace of God Social Violence and Religious Response in France around the Year 1000*, eds. Thomas Head and Richard Landes (Ithaca, NY, 1992), 184–218; R. I. Moore, *The Origins of European Dissent*, rev. ed. (London, 1985), 1–45.
25. *Chronique*, 3. 49, 59 and 69, 173, 184–85, and 194.
26. D.S., MS. Lat. Phillips, 1664, fol. 74v.
27. D.S., MS. Lat. Phillips, 1664, fol. 83v. "Inpossibile enim est ut nullus Iudeus, Sarracenus, paganus, haereticus umquam salvus fiat nisi tantum illi qui in fide sancti Petri credunt."
28. D.S., MS. Lat. Phillips, 1664, fol. 97r.
29. See Delisle, "Manuscripts originaux d'Ademar," 257–65 for discussion and partial edition of this sermon. See also my "Sermons of Ademar," 212–19.
30. Interestingly, Peter the Venerable also identifies denial of the Trinity as the greatest of the Saracens' errors. Indeed, he begins his *Summa Totius Haeresis Saracenorum*, ed. Kritzeck, *Peter the Venerable*, 204–11, by stating that their greatest error is that "trinitatem in unitate deitatis negant."

31. D.S., MS. Lat. Phillipps, 1664, fol. 84r. "Et Iudei et Sarraceni qui dicunt se credere unum Deum et dicunt quia nos Christiani credimus tres deos dum audiunt trinitatem patrem et filium et spiritum sanctum quia unus est Deus."
32. D.S., MS. Lat. Phillipps, 1664, fol. 84r. "Iudei autem et Sarraceni qui dicunt non se credere sanctam trinitatem sed in unum Deum ideo nullum Deum credunt quia in sanctam trinitatem non credunt. Et magis ipsum verum Deum blasphemant et ad iracundiam provocant quia tollunt ab eo trinitatem."
33. D.S., MS. Lat. Phillipps, 1664, fol. 91r. "Sed multi Sarraceni sunt qui dicunt se credere in sanctam trinitatem sed non credunt incarnationem Domini." See also Callahan, "Ademar of Chabannes, Millennial Fears," 28, note 63, wherein he suggests that Ademar may be referring to the trinity of Mahound, Termagant, and Apollyon.
34. *Chronique*, 3, 49, 173. See also the translation of this section and comments in Landes, "Between Aristocracy and Heresy," 207–13.
35. D'Alverny, "Connaissance de l'Islam," 579–80 and Kritzeck, *Peter the Venerable*, 117 offer examples of other writers who combined Christian apology and anti-Muslim polemic.
36. On the association of Arians and Sabellians and Saracens by twelfth-century writers see d'Alverny, "Deux Traductions," 75; Norman Daniel, *Islam and the West: The Making of an Image* (Edinburgh, 1962), 184–87, and Kritzeck, *Peter the Venerable*, 141–45.
37. D.S., MS. Lat. Phillipps 1664, fol. 84r. "Sunt haeretici qui dicuntur non Catholici sed Sabelliani qui credunt male ut una sit tantum persona in Deo et in non tres sicut est una persona in unus homine . . . credunt unam solam personam et ita in sua stulta credulitate confundunt hoc est permiscunt tres personas quae tres personae in veritate sunt pater et filius et spiritus sanctus."
38. D.S., MS. Lat. Phillipps, 1664, fol. 84r.
39. D.S., MS. Lat. Phillipps, 1664, fol. 84r. See also fols. 87r and 89v.
40. D.S., MS. Lat. Phillipps, 1664, fol. 91r.
41. D.S., MS. Lat. Phillipps, 1664, fol. 90r. ". . . putant se credere in patrem quasi in uno creatore quasi solus pater creator sit omnium . . ."
42. *Summa Totius Haeresis Saracenorum*, edited in Kritzeck, *Peter the Venerable*, 207.
43. Cited in Daniel, *Islam and the West*, 185.
44. D.S., MS. Lat. Phillipps 1664, fol. 84r.
45. Yves Congar, "Arriana haeresis comme désignation du néo-manichéisme au XIII^e siècle," *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologique* 43 (1959): 449–61.
46. D.S., MS. Lat. Phillipps 1664, fol. 85r.
47. Jones, "Conventional Saracen," 203.
48. D.S. MS. Lat. Phillipps 1664, fol. 91r.
49. D.S., MS. Lat. Phillipps, 1664, fol. 91r. "Et sicut in verum Deum, qui vera pax est, non credunt ita alter alteri numquam dat osculum pacis."

50. D.S., MS. Lat. Phillips, 1664, fol. 91r. See Aron Gurevich, *Medieval Popular Culture: Problems of Belief and Perception*, trans. Janos Bak and Paul Hollingsworth (Cambridge, 1988), 48, where he notes that "inversions of every sort in medieval literature (movement against the sun's course, reading prayers backwards, kissing the anus, etc.) were invariably seen as the interference of evil. This was the way sorcerers, witches, heretics, and even Satan himself behaved!" For further discussion and citation, see Callahan, "Ademar of Chabannes, Millennial Fears," 19–35, especially 29.
51. D.S. MS. Lat. 1664, fol. 91r.
52. D.S., MS. Lat. Phillips, 1664, fol. 91r.
53. For Ademar's concern with marriage see Michael Frassetto, "Heresy, Celibacy, and Reform in the Sermons of Ademar of Chabannes," in *Medieval Purity and Piety: Essays on Medieval Clerical Celibacy and Religious Reform*, ed. Michael Frassetto (New York and London, 1998), 131–148. On the development of Western marital practices see Georges Duby, *The Knight, the Lady and the Priest: The Making of Modern Marriage in Medieval France*, trans. Barbara Bray (Chicago, 1983), 57–120.
54. Duby, *The Knight, the Lady and the Priest*, 57–120. A similar remark is made about heretics by Guibert of Nogent in *De Vita Sua*, 3.17, *Patrologia cursus completus series Latina* 156: 951.
55. Trachtenberg, *Devil and the Jews*, 43.
56. Moore, *Formation of a Persecuting Society*, 100, finds a similar association in the image of Jews, lepers, and heretics.
57. A similar association between heretics, Jews, and Muslims will be drawn by Guibert of Nogent. Concerning this association see John F. Benton, *Self and Society in Medieval France* (Toronto, 1984), 10.
58. *Chronique*, 3.49, 173. "Abstinentes a cibis, quasi monachi apparebant et castitatem simulabant, sed inter se ipsos omnem luxuriam exercebant."
59. *Chronique*, 3.59, 185. "... penitus Christum latenter respuerant, et abominaciones et crimina, quae dici etiam flagitium est."
60. Paul of St. Pere de Chartres, *Gesta synodi Aurelianensis*, Bouquet, X, 538. For heresy at Orleans see R.-H. Bautier, "L'Hérésie d'Orléans et le mouvement intellectuel au debut du XIe siècle. Documents et hypothèses," in *Enseignement et vie intellectuelle (IXe-XVIIe Siècle)* (Paris, 1975), 63–88.
61. Amy Remensnyder, "Pollution, Purity and Peace: An Aspect of Social Reform between the Late Tenth Century and 1076," in *The Peace of God Social Violence and Religious Response in France around the Year 1000*, ed. Thomas Head and Richard Landes (Ithaca, NY, 1992), 280–307. See also the essays in *Medieval Purity and Piety*, ed. Frassetto.
62. Moore, *Formation of a Persecuting Society*, 89.
63. Moore, *Formation of a Persecuting Society*, 89.
64. Moore, *Formation of a Persecuting Society*, 5.

CHAPTER FOUR

Muslims as Pagan Idolaters in Chronicles of the First Crusade

John V. Tolan

In the *Chronicles of the Archbishops of Salzburg* we find the story of Archbishop Thiemo, who died in the crusade of 1101.¹ Thiemo, we are told, along with Duke Welf of Bavaria, led a group of Bavarians and Swabians toward Jerusalem (already under Christian rule). As they approached the holy city, these crusaders were surrounded and defeated “by an innumerable multitude of gentiles (*ethnici*).” These pagans were led by three brothers from Corosan “who in their ferocity were more tyrannical and in their cult more pagan than [the Roman Emperor] Decius”—an emperor best known for his brutal persecutions of Christians. These “pagans” were angered by the recent victory of the crusaders and eager to wreak vengeance on Christian pilgrims.² They led Thiemo and other pilgrims away into slavery. One day their king discovered that Thiemo had been trained as a goldsmith, so he asked him to repair a golden idol. Thiemo asked for a hammer and approached the idol. He addressed the demon inhabiting the idol, ordering it in the name of God to leave the statue.³ When the demon uttered blasphemies, Thiemo smashed the idol with his hammer. This led to his martyrdom: he was thrown into prison, brought out the next day, put on an ass, whipped, and brought to an arena before the throngs; there the king accused him of sacrilege. Thiemo replied that the idols were not gods but demons,

and preached that the king should desist from the worship of Saturn, Jove, and the obscene Priapus. The king responded by ordering that all Thiemo's fingers be cut off, as well as those of his followers, and that their limbs then be lopped off. As the king drank the martyrs' blood, Thiemo commended his soul unto God, and the crowd saw a choir of angels descend to take up the souls of the martyrs. Nearby, we are told, was an idol named Machmit, whom the pagans were wont to consult as an oracle. A demon began to speak through Machmit, saying that this had been a great victory for the Christians, "whose glory grows against us daily."⁴ He warned the pagans not to attempt to stop the Christians from celebrating the saint's funeral. Thiemo was buried in a church and miracles ensued: he healed the blind, deaf, lepers, and possessed, both among Christians and among pagans. Woe to those who attempt to violate his sanctuary; they face immediate death. For this reason, we are told, the pagans held Saint Thiemo in respect and did not pester any of his pilgrims.

The story of Thiemo gives us a vivid portrait of the enemy that the crusaders went off to fight, as they imagined him, or at least as their chroniclers imagined them. The picture shocks us both for its hostility and for its wild inaccuracy. If earlier medieval texts imagined that the Saracens were pagans,⁵ none of them developed the caricature in such detail, none portrayed such technicolor horror: a king who worships golden idols, seeks out Christian pilgrims, and delights in ripping their limbs off and drinking their blood. This portrait is pieced together with images from the stories of the early martyrs of the church, stories very familiar to clerical authors through the daily monastic reading of the martyrologies.⁶

While few of the Latin chroniclers of the First Crusade will imagine their Saracen enemies in as quite vividly hostile terms, they will not present them in ways that contradict this malicious caricature. Almost all of these chroniclers describe Saracens as pagans, and most of them present the crusaders' victory as part of the age-old struggle with paganism, as part of the culminating events that will result in the eradication of paganism and—for some—the Second Coming of Christ. Their idols are at times called Jupiter, Apollo, or Mahomet; chroniclers of the First Crusade occasionally refer to their adversaries as "Mahummicolae": "Muhammad-worshippers."⁷ The terms "Muslim," "Islam," and their equivalents are never used.

To make sense of the crusade, the twelfth-century chronicler placed it in the context of the age-old struggle between Christianity and paganism. Earlier writers described Muslims as pagans, at times basing their descriptions on biblical or Roman descriptions of pre-Muslim Arabs. Only at the turn of the twelfth century, however, is this supposed "paganism" described in vivid detail, its fictive contours clearly delineated. The epic descriptions of battles against the Saracens demanded a vivid and colorful enemy, one against

whom war was justified and victory was glorious. Fighting against pagans, crusaders could claim to be wreaking vengeance for the pagans' crucifixion of Christ and their usurpation of His city; when they fell in battle, they could claim the mantle of martyrdom. The fight against paganism had a long history, one in which Christianity was sure to emerge victorious.

Many scholars have described how the First Crusade represented a radical new form of piety, a strange mixture of pilgrimage and military ardor: humbly submitting to God's will while aggressively attacking one's enemy.⁸ The paradoxical nature of the crusade is perhaps best captured in the image of the barefoot knights in procession around the walls of Jerusalem, days before they capture it. In the words of crusader and chronicler Raymond d'Aguilers:

it was ordered that . . . the priests prepare themselves for the procession, with crosses and relics of the saints and that the knights and all strong men follow them with trumpets and banners and barefoot, and that the armed men should march barefoot.⁹

If this strange hybrid, this armed pilgrimage, needed justification in the eyes of Christians back home in Europe, its success was a resounding vindication: clearly the Christian knights had been right to cry out "Deus lo volt!"; clearly it was God's will that the crusaders take Jerusalem back from the "pagans." Yet the novelty of the endeavor, and its very success, forced Christian writers to contemplate how the crusade fit into the divine plan. If the crusade is indeed a working out of God's will, how does one fit it into the context of divine history?

A number of participants in the First Crusade wrote firsthand accounts of the crusade that were soon read and reworked by monastic writers in Europe.¹⁰ The anonymous *Gesta Francorum*, believed by many scholars to be the earliest of these chronicles, consistently refers to the crusaders' foes as "pagans" and twice has its leaders swear oaths by their God "Machomet."¹¹ Yet, other than this, it has little to say about who these pagans are, what their religious rituals are, or why the Christians are justified in taking land from them. Other Christian writers felt a need to explain the crusades, to place them in Christian history and eschatology as a key part of the long, hard fight against paganism: a fight, however, that the Bible promises will in the end result in Christian victory.

Only one of the chroniclers of the First Crusade, Guibert of Nogent, acknowledges that the Saracens are monotheists and that Muhammad is their prophet, not their God. For the rest, it is pagans that the crusaders went off to fight, in order to take Jerusalem back from them and to wreak vengeance on them for the crucifixion—as well as for their subsequent

blasphemies against Christ. Time and again, the chroniclers of the First Crusade cite the eradication of paganism as one of the key motives behind the crusade. Raymond d'Aguilers, for example, says that by God's mercy His army "stood forth over all paganism."¹² Raoul de Caen, in the preface to his *Gesta Tancredi* (which is both a narrative of the crusade and a poetic eulogy of the crusader Tancred), says that his subject is "that pilgrimage, that glorious struggle, which added to its inheritance our holy Mother Jerusalem, which extinguished idolatry and restored the faith."¹³

To understand how the image of Islam as paganism helps justify the crusade, let us look in detail at one account written by a participant in the First Crusade, Petrus Tudebodus. Tudebodus asserts (as do most of the chroniclers of the crusade) that the crusaders' amazing victory against enormous odds was the work of God, not man: that Christ awarded the fidelity and valor of His army by granting it victory over innumerable pagans. This victory over paganism is part of the divine plan and a signal that the end of time is near. Tudebodus frequently compares the army of God with the Apostles, implicitly and explicitly: both spread the Christian faith, fought paganism, and received the palm of martyrdom. To a modern reader these appear as drastically different behaviors: preaching the Gospel and passively accepting execution on the one hand, waging war on the other. Tudebodus will present these as essentially similar acts: the crusaders are the new apostles and martyrs, ushering in a new age for Christ and His church.

This purpose is clear from the first sentences of Tudebodus's *History*:

In the year of our lord [1095],¹⁴ when that end grew near which the Lord each day shows to his faithful, and which He particularly shows in the Gospel, saying "If any man will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow me" [Matt. 16:24] there was a great commotion in all the regions of Gaul. If anyone wished zealously and with pure heart and mind to follow God and to faithfully bear the cross after him, he should not hesitate to quickly set out on the way to the Holy Sepulchre (via Sancti Sepulchri).¹⁵

Tudebodus here puts the crusade in an eschatological context: the end, he says, was drawing near (though he is careful to avoid saying exactly *how* near); he connects that end with the injunction to take up one's cross and follow Christ. God's command, which before could be understood only in its spiritual sense, was now literally being fulfilled before Tudebodus's eyes, as crusaders sewed on the cloth crosses that symbolized their pilgrimage vow, and literally followed Christ by setting off for His city.¹⁶

Throughout his *History*, Tudebodus in this way describes the crusaders in language taken straight from the Gospels, implicitly likening them to the

Apostles and martyrs. He has Pope Urban II, at the Council of Clermont, say that “anyone who wishes to save his soul should not hesitate humbly to set off on the way of the Lord and the Holy Sepulchre [*via Domini et Sancti Sepulchri*].”¹⁷ He puts in Urban’s mouth words of scripture, urging his listeners to follow the injunctions that Christ gave to his disciples:

Brothers, it is proper that you suffer many things in Christ’s name, that is to say misery, poverty, persecution, poverty, illnesses, nudity, hunger, thirst and other things of this kind, as He himself said to his apostles: “It is proper that you suffer many things in my name. And do not be ashamed to speak before men; I myself will give you a mouth and eloquence and a great reward will follow you.”¹⁸

Won over by Urban’s eloquence, Tudebodus tells us, these new apostles flock to Constantinople from all over Europe.

Those who die will be described as martyrs, and here again descriptions of their martyrdom—like that of Thiemo—will often be modeled on those of the Apostles and early martyrs of the ancient church, who refused to offer sacrifice to Roman idols and were subsequently put to death, and whose death stories (*passiones*) were part of the daily reading of these clerical writers.¹⁹

At Nicaea, Tudebodus tells us, a bishop preaches to a band of crusaders besieged by Turks, again using words from the Gospels that Jesus directed to the Apostles:

Be everywhere strong in the faith of Christ, and fear not those who persecute you. As the Lord said: Fear not those who kill the body; indeed they cannot kill the soul.²⁰

This “persecution” lasts eight days, after which the Turks take the castle. We are told, in language redolent of the martyrologies, that “Those who refused to renounce God were given the capital sentence . . . these first happily accepted martyrdom for Christ’s name.”²¹ Throughout the remainder of his narrative, Tudebodus emphasizes that the Christian dead are martyrs.²²

If the crusaders are the new apostles, the Saracens play the familiar role of the pagan Roman persecutors: their paganism and barbarism are a necessary counterpart to the steadfast devotion of the crusaders/apostles. They are “Our enemy and God’s . . . saying diabolical sounds in I know not what language.”²³ The geographical and ethnic distinctions between these enemies are confused; at one point Tudebodus describes a castle “full of innumerable pagans: Turks, Saracens, Arabs, Publicans, and other pagans.”²⁴ Many of the place names are familiar from the Bible; Tudebodus and other chroniclers associate the pagans with the places where Antichrist is born and raised: Babylon and Corosan.²⁵

Nothing illustrates Tudebodus's attitudes better than the scenes that come from his imagination, those he could not have seen. In the midst of a battle outside Antioch, for example, when the momentum turns in favor of the crusaders, Tudebodus tells us, "The women of the city came to the windows of the wall; the Christian women, seeing the miserable fate of the Turks, secretly clapped their hands, as was their custom."²⁶ They clapped their hands to show that they were on the Christians' side; they did so "secretly" so that their glee would not be noticed by the Turks inside the city or out. What someone secretly clapping her hands looks like I don't know; but if her clapping could not be seen by the Turks, it presumably could not be seen by Tudebodus below, in the heat of battle. The scene is imagined by Tudebodus, and is meant to dramatize the solidarity (real or imagined) between the Christians inside and their self-appointed liberators outside.

In many of Tudebodus's fictive scenes, we see most clearly how he conceives of his pagan enemies: how they worship, how they see the Christian crusaders, how they see (or fail to see) their place in God's plan. Other chroniclers also indulge in such imaginary dialogues in the enemy camp; indeed, some of these passages are almost identical to those in Tudebodus.²⁷ Unrestrained by facts, these authors can let their imaginations paint a vivid caricature of their adversaries. Tudebodus, in particular, uses these scenes to show the continuity of pagan resistance to Christianity—and to the crusader/apostles; yet he has the pagans acknowledge that their days are numbered, that their ultimate defeat at the hands of God and his warriors is swiftly approaching.

Tudebodus, like the anonymous hagiographer of Thiemo, portrays the deaths of crusaders in terms taken from the martyrologies and *passiones*. This is easiest to do, of course, for the deaths he did not witness: he can imagine them as they *should* have happened. Rainaldus Porchetus, a crusader taken captive by the Turks of Antioch, Tudebodus tells us, is taken to the top of the city walls and told to implore the crusaders to pay a large ransom for his return. Instead Rainaldus urges the crusaders to persist, telling them to value his own life as nothing and that the city's defenders will be unable to hold out much longer. This advice earns him the praise of his comrades and death at the hands of his captors. After Rainaldus' exhortation to the crusaders from atop the walls of Antioch, the "Amiralius" who has him brought back down into the city bids him:

Renounce your god whom you worship and in whom you believe, and believe in Malphumet and our other gods. If you do this, we will give you anything you ask: gold and silver, horses and mules, and many other trappings (*ornamenta*) which you might desire. And we shall give you wives and land, and much honor.²⁸

Rainaldus responds by praying fervently to God, the angry Turkish admiral has his head cut off, and angels take the martyr's soul up to heaven. Still furious, the admiral has all the pilgrims (i.e., crusader captives) in the city rounded up, stripped naked, and burned in a mass martyrdom. The crusade, for Tudebodus, makes historical, theological, and moral sense as part of a continuing struggle against paganism; the response of the good Christian—in the eleventh or twelfth century as in the third or fourth—is to resist the temptations of this world and steadfastly to face martyrdom.

Martyrs, of course, are saints who produce miracles. While the *Passion of Thiemo* described standard miracles of cures and protection, Tudebodus's martial martyrs produce a military miracle. After the Christians capture Antioch, they find themselves besieged in the city by a Muslim relief army led by Kerbogha, the Atabeg of Mosul (whom Tudebodus calls Curbaan). One night during the siege, Tudebodus tells us, a priest named Stephen has a dream in which Christ comes to him, complains of the sins of the crusaders (who, in particular, are sleeping with pagan women) and urges penance on them. In return, Christ promises, he will send to the aid of the crusaders "blessed George, and Theodore, and Demetrius, and all the pilgrims who have been killed in this voyage to Jerusalem."²⁹ Sure enough, when the battle ensued:

innumerable armies came out of the mountains, on white horses, with white insignia (*vexilla*). Seeing this army, [the crusaders] did not know who they were, until they recognized that this was the aid from Christ, as He ordered them according to the priest Stephen. Their leaders were saint George, and blessed Demetrius, and blessed Theodore.³⁰

The martyrs get to have their cake and eat it too: through death at the hands of pagans, they earn the palm of martyrdom; through a military miracle, they come back to rout the pagan host. And what more appropriate general for this celestial army than the knightly Saint George, who himself, as Tudebodus reminds us elsewhere, also "in the name of Christ accepted martyrdom from perfidious pagans"?³¹ While intervention by celestial armies is a common topos in both Muslim and Christian accounts of the crusades, only Tudebodus uses it to prove the sanctity of the new martyrs.³²

The most vivid depictions of the pagan foe come from the scenes imagined inside the enemy camp. Just before this battle, Tudebodus describes a military council in which Curbaan proclaims that the Christian soldiers plan to expel the pagans from Asia Minor and Syria, beyond Corosan and the (fictive) Amazon river.³³ He dictates a letter, describing his plight to "the Caliph our bishop, our king and sultan and most strong soldier" in Corosan, swearing "by Machomet and by the names of all the gods," that he will defeat the Christians and conquer all the lands from Antioch to Apulia.³⁴

At this point Tudebodus indulges in high melodrama. He has Curbaan's mother arrive in tears, begging him, "in the names of the gods," not to fight with the Franks.³⁵ When Curbaan replies that his army is bigger and stronger than that of the Christians, his mother retorts that their God fights for them; as proof she cites King David (i.e., the Psalms): "disperse the nations that do not invoke Your name."³⁶ She goes on to explain that

These Christians are called the sons of Christ, and by the mouths of prophets are called "children of promise" [Galatians 4:28] and by the apostles "heirs of Christ" [Romans 8:17]; they are those to whom Christ already granted his promised inheritance, saying: "From where the sun rises to the west will be your borders; no one will dare to stand against you."³⁷

If Curbaan obstinately insists on fighting God's army, he will lose, she says in tears, and he will die within a year. Here we have a pagan woman who cites scripture to try to dissuade her son from fighting against God's army, a prominent pagan testifying to the superior power of Christ over the pagan gods. When Curbaan is still not convinced, she brings in arguments from pagan wisdom:

Dearest son, over a hundred years ago it was discovered in our pages, and in all books of the pagans, that the Christian nation would be over us and would everywhere defeat us, and reign over pagans, and our nation would everywhere be subject to them; but I do not know if it is to be now or rather in the future. And I, sorrowing, did not desist from following you to Aleppo, that beautiful city, where, pointing and acutely investigating, I looked at the stars in the sky, and sagaciously deliberating and with sedulous mind observing the planets, and the twelve signs of the zodiac, and innumerable lots, in all these things I saw that the Christian nation would be victorious everywhere.³⁸

Curbaan, incredulous, says that he thought Bohemund and Tancred were the crusaders' gods, and that they each consume 2,000 cows and 4,000 pigs for lunch. His mother responds that they are mere mortals, but that the God who protects them is the invincible creator of heaven and earth, whose will no one may oppose. But Curbaan will not be deterred, and his mother leaves in grief.³⁹

This melodramatic scene has been largely overlooked by historians of the crusades: it is, after all, useless if we seek to reconstruct the events of the crusade. It is crucial, however, for seeing how Tudebodus makes sense of the crusade: unobstructed by mere facts, he can construct the enemy he desires. The passage brings together several key elements in his justification of the crusade. One is the apocalyptic element: the time has come for Christians to take back the holy land and defeat pagans everywhere. This apocalypticism is evident

not only through careful exegesis of the prophets, but even through the pagan arts of astrology and necromancy. In addition, Curbaan's mother emphasizes God's protective relationship with His army. She describes them in biblical language, as both the new apostles coming into Christ's inheritance and as the army of Israel, whose enemies the Lord disperses.

A key scene in all of the chronicles of the First Crusade, of course, is the siege of Jerusalem itself, in which several chroniclers describe a confrontation between Christ and Machomet. When the Christians laid siege to Jerusalem, as we saw above, they made a penitential pilgrimage around the city, armed and barefoot. According to Tudebodus, when the Muslims of Jerusalem beheld the procession, they brought onto the city wall an idol of Machomet on a lance (or perhaps some sort of stick—*asta* is the Latin word), covered with a cloth.⁴⁰ How the Christians knew this was Machomet is not explained. The crucifix, confronted with the idol of Machomet, began to bleed miraculously. Here the idol Machomet combats Christ on the crucifix, and the crucifix will win. The Amiravissus (apparently the ruler of Jerusalem) subsequently laments the imminent fall of his city and twice invokes Machomet and the other gods.⁴¹

Far from being gratuitous window dressing, Petrus Tudebodus's descriptions of Saracen paganism form a key element in his justification of the crusade. Christianity has from the beginning been locked in a struggle with paganism: now the time has come—predicted both in scripture and in the stars—when Christ will vanquish the idols once and for all, and His people will come into His inheritance. The army of God is painted in the colors of the Bible, described both as the righteous army of Israel⁴² and as the new apostolate. The confrontation between God's army and the pagan army, like that between the crucifix and the idol of Machomet, can have only one outcome: victory. Themes essential to Christian history—pilgrimage, martyrdom, and the fight against idolatry—combine to form a powerful apology for the crusade.

Raymond d'Aguilers also makes Saracen paganism a central element in his chronicle; he depicts the crusade as vengeance against pagan blasphemies. He describes a series of truces and alliances with Muslim leaders as if they implied that the rulers recognized the superiority of Christianity. Thus, when legates come from the King of Babylon (the Vizir of Egypt), "seeing the marvels that God worked for his followers, they glorified Jesus, son of the Virgin Mary, who treads potent tyrants underfoot for His poor followers."⁴³ Similarly, the King of Caesaria, as he provides a market for the crusaders, acknowledges "I see that God has chosen this people."⁴⁴

Almost all of the chronicles place great importance on the crusaders' barefoot procession around Jerusalem days before they capture it. Tudebodus, we saw, has a crucifix bleed when confronted with an idol of Machomet. We

have already seen Raymond d'Aguilers' version of this procession; this is how he describes the Saracens' reaction to it:

The Saracens and Turks went around inside the city, ridiculing us in many ways, putting many crucifixes on yokes [*patibulis*] on top of the walls, inflicting upon them lashes and insults.⁴⁵

The pagans, according to Raymond, are reenacting the passion, retorturing Christ. Here is a striking parallel to the accusations made against Jews in the later Middle Ages: that they torture and mutilate crucifixes, icons, the Eucharist, or even Christian children; the Jews are accused of ritually reenacting the Passion. Those stories, like this one, will be used to sanction acts of horrible violence: many a pogrom, from the thirteenth century to the twentieth, will be justified by such trumped-up accusations.⁴⁶ For Raymond, this torturing of crucifixes, it seems, provides a justification for the terrible vengeance the crusaders are about to wreak on them. When he describes the massacre of Jerusalem's inhabitants after his capture, it is as a glorious, if perhaps overzealous, revenge:

We came to the temple of Solomon [i.e., the Dome of the Rock mosque], where they [the Saracens] used to sing their rites and festivals. But what happened there? If we speak the truth, we will be beyond belief. Suffice it to say that in the temple and porch of Solomon one rode in blood up to one's knees, and up to the horses' reins. This was truly a judgment [of God], that that place should receive their blood, since it endured for such a long time their blasphemies against God. . . . I say that this day saw the weakening of all paganism, the confirmation of Christianity, and the renovation of our faith.⁴⁷

For Raymond d'Aguilers, the crusade—in all its bloodiness—is justifiable first and foremost as *vengeance*. The pagans, who crucified Christ, who continue to crucify him in effigy, and whose rites pollute the sacred places of Jerusalem, deserve to have the wrath of God fall on them in the form of the crusaders' sword. For Raymond as for Tudebodus, the Saracens supposed paganism is a key element in vindicating the crusade.

I have focused on Petrus Tudebodus and Raymond d'Aguilers because theirs are the two chronicles of the First Crusade (along with the *Chanson d'Antioche*, which we shall look at presently) in which Saracen paganism is such a central element of defense. If less central in the other chronicles, it is nonetheless omnipresent (except, as I mentioned earlier, in the chronicle of Guibert de Nogent). Even Anna Comnena, the Byzantine princess whose *Alexiad* chronicles the reign of her father, the emperor Alexius Comnenus, purveys the same image of Saracens as pagans. For Anna, the barbarians of

Egypt and Libya “worship Mahumet with mystic rites” while the “Ishmaelites” worship Chobar, Astarte, and Ashtaoth.⁴⁸ Anna, who is able to describe in detail the theological errors of Bogomils and other Christian heretics, and whose work bristles with citations of Homer and Thucydides, is completely in the dark when it comes to the religion of the Turks.

Many of the Latin chronicles contain differing versions of Tudebodus’s fictive scenes of the enemy in colloquy (it is unclear which if any of the existing chronicles is the original source of these stories). One fictive scene common to several of these chroniclers is a poetic lament put in the mouth of the “Amiravissus,” who is supposed to be the pagan ruler of Jerusalem, when he sees that his city is about to fall to the crusaders. Robert the Monk, for example, has the Amiravissus grieve:

We used to vanquish, and now we are vanquished; we used to be happy of heart, and now we are afflicted with sadness. Who can hold back the tears from his eyes and hold back the sobs breaking out of his heart? How long I have taken great pains to bring together this army; I have spent much time in vain. At great cost I brought together the most powerful soldiers in all the Orient, and led them to this battle; and now I have brought them and their price to the end. . . . O Mathome, Mathome, who worshipped you with greater magnificence, in shrines of gold and silver, with beautifully decorated idols of you, and ceremonies and solemnities and every sacred rite? But here is how the Christians often insult us, because the power of the crucifix is greater than yours: for it is powerful on heaven and earth. Now it appears that those who confide in it are victorious, while those who venerate you are vanquished. But it is not the fault of our lack of care, for your tomb is more adorned than his with gold, gems, and precious things.⁴⁹

One can see why this would make satisfying reading for the Christians back in Europe. Not only does the fictive lament insert melodrama and pathos into the narrative, but it drives home the superiority of Christianity to paganism: the pagans are doomed to defeat against God, no matter how many armies they assemble or how much gold and precious stones they lavish on their idols. The idol is again confronted by the crucifix, and the crucifix wins. Once more, we see a powerful pagan brought low as he acknowledges the awesome power of God.

Another equally fictitious but equally important event in several chronicles of the First Crusade is the discovery of an idol of Mahummet in the temple of the Lord, or temple of Solomon (where, as we saw, Raymond d’Aguilers gruesomely described knights riding in blood up to their knees).⁵⁰ Raoul de Caen wrote his *Gesta Tancredi*, in mixed prose and verse, sometime between Tancred’s death in 1112 and Raoul’s before 1131. Raoul glorifies (and exaggerates) Tancred’s military achievements during and after the First Crusade.⁵¹ He describes

Tancred encountering a huge silver idol of Mahummet in a mosque in Jerusalem, piously destroying it, and confiscating the silver:

On a high throne sat a cast idol
 of heavy silver, . . .
 Tancred saw this and said: "For shame!
 "What does this mean? What is this sublime image?
 "What does this effigy mean, these gems, this gold?
 "What does this royal purple mean?" Now Mahummet
 Was crowned in gems and dressed in royal purple, and he glowed
 with gold.
 "Perhaps this is an idol of Mars or Apollo:
 "Is it Christ? These are not the insignia of Christ,
 "Not the cross, not the crown of thorns, not the nails, not the water
 from his side.
 "Therefore this is not Christ: rather it is ancient Antichrist,
 "Mahummet the depraved, Mahummet the pernicious.
 "O if this companion is here now, he will be here in the future!
 "Now I will crush both Antichrists with my foot!
 "For shame! The companion of the Abyss holds sway in the Arc of God.
 . . .
 "It will tumble down quickly, without doubt it will yet tumble!"
 . . .
 Immediately it was ordered, you will see it already done,
 Each soldier gladly fulfilling the order
 It was broken, dragged down, smashed, cut down.
 The material was precious but vile; the form
 Thus destroyed, the vile was made precious.⁵²

The Temple of Solomon has become the center of the cult of the pagan idol of Mahummet; we saw that, for Raymond d'Aguilers, the "blasphemies" that the Saracens performed in the Temple (in fact, the Dome of the Rock Mosque) called down the righteous vengeance of God in the form of a bloody massacre. But Raymond did not say what these "blasphemies" were; Raoul provides a vivid image of them: a silver idol of the pagan God Mahummet. Tancred, first thinking the statue might be one of Mars or Apollo, finally realizes that it is Mahummet, whom he also calls Antichrist. The destruction of this profane image, intruder into the Temple of the Lord, provides a dramatic, vindictive climax to the First Crusade.

The fight against paganism had long meant the destruction of idols; chroniclers such as Raoul de Caen had no foibles about ascribing such exploits to the crusaders. This places the crusade in a clear historical context, the culmination of the struggle that was begun by the infant Jesus himself; did he not destroy idols during the flight into Egypt, according to the apocryphal Gospels?⁵³

Such continuity is explicit in the *Chanson d'Antioche*, which makes the crusade central to Christian eschatology by having Christ himself predict it. In this twelfth-century epic (which claims to be the work of a crusader)⁵⁴ the narrative opens with the crucifixion: Christ himself, speaking to the good thief crucified at his side, predicts the eventual arrival of the crusaders. He foretells that a "new people," the Franks, will avenge the crucifixion, liberate the holy land, and eliminate paganism:

Friends, said Our Lord, know
That from across the sea a new people will come
They will exact vengeance for the death of their Father
No pagans shall remain from here to the East
The Franks will liberate all the earth
And for those who were taken and killed in this manner
Material weapons will secure our salvation⁵⁵

Here again, the paganism of the Saracens is a key element in the theological justification of the crusade: the pagans killed Jesus, and the crusaders will wreak vengeance on the pagans for the murder of their "father." The Jews were frequently blamed for the crucifixion, and it is during the First Crusade that the call for vengeance will lead crusaders to massacre Jews in Europe⁵⁶; but the pagans were blamed for the crucifixion as well, and vengeance against them was sought. Through this vengeance, the crusaders will "save" Jesus and his followers. The Saracens must be pagans in order to be appropriate objects of vengeance.⁵⁷

Unsurprisingly, the *Chanson* gives us a vivid picture of Saracen idolatry, along with a glowing account of the idols' destruction, heralding the imminent demise of paganism. As in other texts concerning the conversion of idolaters, the ultimate and most satisfying testimony to the impotence of the idols is their repudiation and destruction by their own devotees (or in the story of Thiemo, the recognition of Christian superiority by the idol Machmit itself).

The center of the pagan cult, for the *Chanson d'Antioche*, is Mahomet, an idol held in mid-air by magnets.⁵⁸ A defeated Saracen general, Sansadoines, strikes the idol, knocking it down and breaking it after it has shown itself powerless to secure victory for its devotees. Here again, the pagan enemy himself realizes the powerlessness of his idols and destroys them with his own hand. Sansadoines then predicts to the Saracens that they will be defeated by the Christians who will "break the walls and palisades of Mieque [Mecca], will take Mahomet down from the pedestal where he is placed, [and will take] the two candelabra that sit there."⁵⁹ At the end of the poem the crusader Godfrey of Bouillon vows to take "Mahomet of Mieque" in virtually the same

words.⁶⁰ The conquest of Mieque, the Saracens' cultic center, will mark the ultimate defeat of paganism.

The *Chanson d'Antioche* describes, in vivid detail, an embassy to Mieque, which is ruled over by three brothers⁶¹: hymns are sung to the golden idol Mahomés, the "Apostle Caliph of Bauda" (presumably Baghdad) presides over a grand "parlement." The Saracens, through enchantment, have caused a demon, Sathanas, to inhabit the idol of Mahomés, which now speaks to them. "Christians who believe in God," says Sathanas/Mahomés, "this lost people, have no rights on earth, they have taken it in great error. Let God keep heaven; the earth is in my fiefdom [*baillie*]." ⁶² The Caliph then announces a "rich pardon that Mahons will give us," a sort of inversion of the indulgences that Urban II granted the crusaders: Mahons will allow every man who fights the Christians to have 20 or 30 wives, or as many as he wishes. Those who die in battle will bring to the gates of heaven two bezants in one hand and a rock in the other: with the bezants they can buy their way into heaven, or if that fails, with the rock they can force their way in.⁶³ Again an inversion or parody, this time of the hope of martyrdom proffered to the Christian crusader. The pagan enemy, it seems, is a deformed mirror image of the righteous crusader, devoted to the Devil rather than God, granted indulgences by the Caliph of Baghdad/Mecca rather than the pope, hoping to buy or fight his way into heaven.

As with Petrus Tudebodus and the *Passion of Thiemo*, the pagan adversaries are themselves made to acknowledge—both before and after the conflict—the inevitability of their defeat at the hands of the Christians. Sansadoines, as we have seen, predicts that the Christians will take Mecca. Later in the poem, his fears are confirmed by a dream, which he narrates to Corbarans (i.e., Kerbogha): he stands before Antioch and sees "Out of Antioch issued a leopard and a boar, a snake, bear, and dragon, to devour our people."⁶⁴ Solimans, one of Corbarans's men, responds that Mahons is very powerful and would never let this happen to his people. As in Tudebodus, Corbarans is warned but heeds not the warnings. Corbarans's mother soon arrives and (as in Tudebodus) warns him to desist: his defeat is predicted by the stars.⁶⁵

Corbarans himself, as he sees his defeat, calls one last time on Mahmet, this time to curse and threaten him:

"Oh, Lord Mahmet! How I used to love you
And to serve and honor you with all my might!
If ever I may return one day to my country
I will burn you and reduce you to powder
Or I will have you trampled by horses."⁶⁶

Once again, Christian victory over paganism culminates in the pagan leader's rejection and destruction (even if, as here, only threatened) of his

idols. In the *Conquête de Jérusalem*, the Caliph himself decapitates the idol Mahon.⁶⁷

The First Crusade, if we are to believe these chroniclers, is as much a fight over time as it is over space: the struggle is to reestablish the age of Christ and His Apostles in the land in which they lived, preached, and died. The crusaders win over the pagans by reenacting the struggles of the Apostolic age, by staining—or purifying—the holy soil with the blood of new martyrs, thus causing, once again, the destruction of the idols. The patent falseness of this image of the Muslim enemy is obvious to anyone with a rudimentary knowledge of Islam. It was anything but obvious, however, to those who read these stories: to them (as, perhaps, to many of the crusaders themselves) the image rang true. The stories helped them make sense of the struggles they faced, the risks they ran, the death they or their comrades faced. They helped glorify the enterprise of the crusade and put it solidly in the context of Christian history, of the divine plan.

Notes

1. The crusade of 1101, launched to support and defend the new Crusader states in the Levant, was an unmitigated failure. Welf, Thiemo, and their men were ambushed by the Seljuks near Ereghli: many died, many (including Thiemo) were taken captive, and Welf managed to escape. See Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading* (Philadelphia, 1986), 120–34.
2. *Passio Thiemonis archiepiscopi* (MGH SS 11:51–62) §11, 58; see Karl Morrison, *Understanding Conversion* (Charlottesville, 1990), 137–38.
3. Such confrontation is a common trope in texts about conversion of pagans to Christianity. In some cases missionaries destroy idols, in others the new converts destroy their former idols; most dramatic are stories in which divine power (at times invoked by missionaries) causes the idols to crumble and fall. See Michael Camille, *The Gothic Idol: Ideology and Image-making in Medieval Art* (Cambridge, 1989), esp. the discussion of Saracen idols, 129–64.
4. *Passio Thiemonis*, §15, 61.
5. See John V. Tolan, Introduction, in *Medieval Christian Perceptions of Islam: A Book of Essays* ed. John V. Tolan (New York, 1995); Benjamin Z. Kedar, *Crusade and Mission: European Approaches toward the Muslims* (Princeton, 1984), 86ff.
6. The *Martyrologium*, which in the early Middle Ages had been a simple calendar of saints' feast days, by the eleventh century often contains brief narratives of the passions of the various martyrs; these were to be read daily. See Bernard Gaiffier, "De l'usage et de la lecture du martyrologe," *Analecta Bollandiana* 79 (1961): 40–59; Bernard Gaiffier, "A propos des légendiers latins," *Analecta Bollandiana* 97 (1979): 57–68.

7. The term occurs six times in Raoul de Caen's *Gesta Tancredi* (*Recueil des historiens des croisades: historiens occidentaux*), 5 vols. (Paris, 1844–95), hereafter abbreviated RHC occ, 3:620, 670, 679, 691, 698, 705). The anonymous *Tudebodius imitatus et continuatus* contains the term “machumicolae” twice (RHC occ. 3:220, 227).
8. The bibliography on the First Crusade is vast. For a good introduction to both the events of the crusade and cultural and social forces that shaped it, see Jean Flori, *La première croisade* (Paris, 1992). The most recent general work in English is John France, *Victory in The East: A Military History of the First Crusade* (Cambridge, 1994); the best introduction to the subject in English remains that of Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading*. See also Bernard McGinn, “*Iter Sancti Sepulchri*: the Piety of the First Crusaders,” in *The Walter Prescott Webb Lectures: Essays in Medieval Civilization*, ed. Richard E. Sullivan (New York, 1978). For bibliography on the crusades, see Kenneth Setton, gen. ed., *History of the Crusades*, vol. 6 (Philadelphia, 1984).
9. Raymond d'Aguilers, *Liber*, eds. John H. & Lorira L. Hill (Paris, 1969), 145.
10. The relations between these texts, and the scholarly disputes surrounding them, are too complex for me to give justice to them here. The best introduction to the subject is Jean Flori, “Des chroniques à l'épopée . . . ou bien l'inverse?,” *Perspectives médiévales* 20 (1994): 36–43. See also Riley-Smith, *First Crusade*, 135–52; Suzanne Duparc-Quioç, *La Chanson d'Antioche: Étude critique* (Paris, 1978). J. and L. Hill's introduction to their edition of Petrus Tudebodius, *Historia de Hierosolymitano itinere* (Paris, 1977) and John France, *Victory in the East*, 374–82.
11. *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*, ed. and trans. Louis Bréhier (into French), *Histoire anonyme de la première croisade* (Paris, 1924), 118 and 216.
12. Raymond d'Aguilers, *Liber*, 35.
13. Raoul de Caen, *Gesta Tancredi*, prefatio (RHC occ. 3:603).
14. Tudebodius erroneously gives 1097.
15. Petrus Tudebodius, *Historia de Hierosolymitano itinere*, 31.
16. Both Robert the Monk and Guibert of Nogent also saw the crusades as literal fulfillments of biblical prophecies that had previously been understood in the spiritual or allegorical senses; see Riley-Smith, *First Crusade*, 142–43. The passage (along with many others, some of which I will draw attention to in the notes) is almost identical to *Gesta Francorum*, 2. This could mean that Tudebodius is using the *Gesta* or vice versa, or that they have a common source (now lost) that they both employ. For the scholarly debate on the primacy of these various sources, see above, note 10.
17. Petrus Tudebodius, *Historia*, 32.
18. Petrus Tudebodius, *Historia*, 32.
19. On the idea of martyrdom in the chronicles of the First Crusade, see Flori, “Mort et martyre des guerriers vers 1100,” *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale*

- 34 (1991): 121–39; Riley-Smith, *First Crusade*, 151–52; and Cowdrey, “Martyrdom and the First Crusade,” *Crusade and Settlement*, ed. P. W. Ed-bury (Cardiff, 1985), 47–56. On the daily reading of *martyrologia* and *pas-siones*, see above, note 6.
20. Petrus Tudebodus, *Historia*, 35; Matthew 10:28.
 21. Petrus Tudebodus, *Historia*, 35–36. According to J. and L. Hill (see their notes to the text, 35–36) Tudebodus is here using language from martyrologies.
 22. For example, see Petrus Tudebodus, *Historia*, 50, 75, in addition to the pas-sages discussed below.
 23. Petrus Tudebodus, *Historia*, 51.
 24. Petrus Tudebodus, *Historia*, 128.
 25. Babylon, conveniently, is the name not only of the city on the Euphrates identified with Antichrist but also of an important fortress outside of Cairo: hence the ruler of the Egyptians, in many crusade chronicles, is referred to as the King of Babylon. See Petrus Tudebodus, 73, 77, 148; Raymond d’Aguilers, 58, 110. Corosana, mentioned in Matthew 11:21 and Luke 10:13, is associated in crusader chronicles with the Turks. See Petrus Tude-bodus 36, 37, 49, 73, 89, 91, 92, 113; Raymond d’Aguilers, 56, 87; *Chan-son d’Antioche*, ed. Suzanne Duparc-Quioc (Paris, 1977), vv. 4790, 5080, 9379, 9387. On the association of these places with the Antichrist, see *Li-bellus de Antichristo* (*Patrologia cursus completus series Latina* 101:1293). Both Raymond d’Aguilers and Ekkehard of Aura use “Hispania” to refer to the areas under Saracen control; this suggests that they saw a close parallel be-tween the fight against the Saracens in both East and West. See Raymond d’Aguilers, *Liber*; introduction by John and Laurita Hill, 13 and their note at p. 50.
 26. Petrus Tudebodus, *Historia*, 76; almost identical is the description in *Gesta Francorum*, 94.
 27. On the complex relations between these various texts, see above, note 10.
 28. Petrus Tudebodus, *Historia*, 79–80. Rainaldus Porchetus’s martyrdom is also described in the *Chanson d’Antioche* vv. 3972–4038; see Duparc-Quioc, *La Chanson d’Antioche: Étude critique*, 198–99, 212–14. Riley-Smith (*The First Crusade*, 115) takes these descriptions of Rainaldus’s martyrdom, it seems, at face value.
 29. Petrus Tudebodus, *Historia*, 100. This vision is also described in the *Gesta* (128–30), but there is no mention made of the martyrs; Christ merely promises a “magnum adiutorium.”
 30. Petrus Tudebodus, *Historia*, 112. This is almost identical to the passage in the *Gesta*, 154, though there, it will be remembered, there was no mention of the fallen crusader/martyrs participating in the vengeance.
 31. Petrus Tudebodus, *Historia*, 134.
 32. Raymond d’Aguilers has celestial warriors lead Christians into battle (45) and says that many people saw Ademar of Le Puy lead the crusaders into Jerusalem (151). Ademar, papal legate and leader of the Crusade, had died in Antioch, but was not martyred. Saint George also leads celestial armies

- into battle in the *Gesta* (155), Robert the Monk (RHC 3:832), and *Chanson d'Antioche*, vv. 2179 and 9063.
33. Petrus Tudebodus, *Historia*, 91.
 34. Petrus Tudebodus, *Historia*, 92. This same language is used in the later abridgement of his chronicle (the so-called *Tudebodus abbreviatus*) at RHC oc. 3:194.
 35. Petrus Tudebodus, *Historia*, 93.
 36. Psalm 79:6 (Vulgate 78:6); Petrus Tudebodus, *Historia*, 94.
 37. Petrus Tudebodus, *Historia*, 94.
 38. Petrus Tudebodus, *Historia*, 95–6.
 39. The interview between Kerbogha and his mother is described in almost identical terms in the *Gesta*, 118–24.
 40. Petrus Tudebodus, *Historia*, 37.
 41. Petrus Tudebodus, *Historia*, 147–48; cf. the *Tudebodus abbreviatus* (RHC oc. 3:163).
 42. The parallels between the crusading army and the army of the Israelites is made by other chroniclers of the First Crusade, including Robert the Monk, Baldrid of Dole, and Guibert of Nogent; see Riley-Smith, *First Crusade*, 140–42.
 43. Raymond d'Aguilers, 58.
 44. Raymond d'Aguilers, 103. Robert the Monk and Guibert of Nogent also refer to the Franks as God's chosen people; see Riley-Smith, *First Crusade*, 147–48.
 45. Raymond d'Aguilers, 145. Earlier, during the siege of Marra, Raymond tells us, the Saracens, "ut maxime nos provocarent, cruces super muros ponentes multis iniuriis eas afficiebant" (94).
 46. See Gavin Langmuir, *History, Religion, and Antisemitism* (Berkeley, 1990), 298–303; Gavin Langmuir, *Toward a Definition of Antisemitism* (Berkeley, 1990), chapters 9, 11, and 12; Joshua Trachtenberg, *The Devil and the Jews: a medieval conception of the Jews and its Relation to Modern Antisemitism* (Philadelphia, 1983); R. Po-Chia Hsia, *The Myth of Ritual Murder: Jews and Magic in Reformation Germany* (New Haven, 1988).
 47. Raymond d'Aguilers, 150–51.
 48. Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, trans. E. Sewter (London, 1969), 211–12, and 309–10.
 49. Robertus Monachus, chapter 21 (RHC occ 3:878); cf. the similar treatment in the chronicle by Baudri of Dole (RHC occ. 4:110). In the *Historia et Gesta ducis Gotfridi* (RHC 5:501), it is the "miraldus Babiloni" who gives long lament on hearing of the fall of Jerusalem.
 50. For example: "Hoc templum dominicum in veneratione magna cuncti Saraceni habuerant, ubi preces suas lege sua libentius quam alibi faciebant, quamvis idolo in nomine Mahumet facto eas vastarent, in quod etiam nullum ingredi Christianum permittebant. Alterum templum, quod dicitur Salomonis, magnum est et mirabile." Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Iherosolymitana* c. 26 (RHC occ. 3:357). He later says "Tancredus autem

Templum dominicum festino cursu ingressus, multum auri et argenti, lapidesque pertiosos arripuit. Sed hoc restaurans, eadem cuncta vel eis appretiat loco sacrosancto remisit, licet in eo nihil tunc deicum ageretur, quum Sarraceni legem suam idolatria supersitioso ritu exercebant, qui etiam Christianum nullum in id ingredi sinebant." (c. 28, pp. 359–60).

The chronicle known as *Tudebodus imitatus et continuatus* tells us that Tancred entered the temple, where he saw a huge silver statue of Mahomet enthroned. Comparing the statue to a crucifix, he proclaimed that this was not Christ but Antichrist and ordered his men to destroy it and put the silver to good use. *Tudebodus imitatus et continuatus* c. 124 (RHC oc. 3:222–23).

51. On Raoul and his *Gesta Tancredi*, see Jean Charles Payen, "L'hégémonie normande dans la *Chanson de Roland* et les *Gesta Tancredi*: De la Neustrie à la chrétienté, ou Turolole est-il nationaliste?," in *Romance Epic: Essays on a Medieval Literary Genre*, ed., Hans-Erich Keller (Kalamazoo, 1987), 73–90; and Jean Charles Payen, "L'image du grec dans la chronique normande: sur un passage de Raoul de Caen," in *Images et signes de l'Orient dans l'Occident Médiéval* (Aix-en-Provence, 1982), 267–80.
52. Raoul de Caen, c. 129 (RHC occ. 3:695–696).
53. See, for example, the *Infancy Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew*, in *The Other Bible*, ed., Willis Barnstone (San Francisco, 1984), 397.
54. The *Chanson d'Antioche* was perhaps composed in the early years of the twelfth century by a crusader, Richard the Pilgrim, though the surviving version is a late twelfth-century reworking attributed to Graindor de Douai. Suzanne Duparc-Quioç argues for the traditional attribution to Richard le Pelerin and Graindor and attempts to distinguish between the two versions (Duparc-Quioç. *La Chanson d'Antioche: Etude critique*). Robert F. Cook argues against it in "*Chanson d'Antioche*," *chanson de geste: le cycle de la croisade est-il épique?* (Amsterdam, 1980), 15–27. The attribution has subsequently been defended by Lewis Sumberg, "Au confluent de l'histoire et du mythe: la *Chanson d'Antioche*, chronique en vers de la première croisade," in *Les Epopees de la croisade*, ed. Karl-Heinz Bender (Stuttgart, 1987), 58–65, and Herman Kleber, "Graindor de Douai: remanieur-auteur-mecene?" Karl-Heinz Bender, ed., *Les Epopees de la croisade* (Stuttgart, 1987), 66–75. See also Flori, "Des chroniques à l'épopée."
55. *Chanson d'Antioche*, vv. 205–11 (pp. 27–28).
56. Robert Chazan, *European Jewry and the First Crusade* (Berkeley, 1987).
57. This is complicated, in the *Chanson d'Antioche*, by a subsequent passage (vv. 218–248, pp. 28–29) identifying the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus and Vespasian as vengeance for the crucifixion; this is standard Christian interpretation of the destruction of the temple of Jerusalem and the subsequent Jewish diaspora. What is far from standard, however, is that the *Chanson* presents Titus and Vespasian as *Christians*.
58. *Chanson d'Antioche*, vv. 4891ff. This passage is discussed by Alexandre Eckhardt, "Le Cercueil flottant de Mahomet," in *Mélanges de philologie romane et de littérature médiévale offerts à E. Hoepffner: Publications de la Faculté des*

Lettres de l'Université de Strasbourg, fasc. 113 (1949), 77–88.; Eckhardt (78–82) finds earlier legends of pagan statues held in the air by means of magnets, dating from the description of a floating idol of Serapis that, according to Rufinus de Aquilea, was in the Serapion of Alexandria.

59. “De Mieke briseront les murs et le palis,
Si traïront Mahomet de la forme u est mis,
Et les deus candelabres qu’illuec sont assis.”
Chanson d’Antioche vv. 4968–70. Earlier in the epic, the poet had expressed the same prophecy in a slightly different form:
“Et briseront de Mecke le mur et le pali,
S’en traïront Mahomet et Appolin aussi,
S’en donront l’or a cels qui Jhesu ont servi.
Benoite soit li terre u il furent norri!”
Chanson d’Antioche, vv. 3447–3450.

60. “Trosqu’el regne de Perse irai por conquerer,
N’i larai borc ne vile ne tor a craventer
Vostre amiral Soudan i ferai encroer
U a un gros takele les iex del cieff forer;
Par Mahomet de Mieque m’en vaurai retourner
Por les.II. candelabres qu’en ferai apporter,
Tres devant le Sepucre puis le ferai poser.”
Chanson d’Antioche vv. 9242–48, p. 454.

In the *Chanson de Jérusalem*, Godfrey of Bouillon swears that he will conquer Mecca and take the golden candelabra that stand before the idol of Mahon:

“Dusqu’a Mieque le vielle ne lairai en estant
Tor ne palais de marbre ne voise cravenant,
Et les grans candelabres devant Mahon ardent
Meterai el Sepucre u Dex fu suscitant
Et Mahon Gomelin, en qui il sont creant,
Liverrai as ribals qui’n feront lor talant—
Les bras et les costés li ierent peçoiant
Si en traïront les pieres et l’or arrabiant.
Et l’amiral meïsme, s’il ne laist Tervagant,
Jo li ferai forer le.II. iex par devant,
U le cieff li taurai a m’espee trençant.
Jou nel pri ne ne l’aim le monte d’un bezant.”

La Chanson de Jérusalem vv. 7276–7287, *The Old French Crusade Cycle*, vol. 6, ed., Nigel Thorpe (Tuscaloosa, Alabama, 1992).

61. The similarities between this section of the *Chanson* and sections of *Passion of Thiemo* may indicate that the author of the *Passion* was familiar with the *Chanson* or vice versa. This section is probably one of the passages added by Graindor de Douai in the late twelfth century (Duparc-Quioc, 105). Later writers, including Marco Polo, also tell of the legendary three brother-kings (see *Chanson d’Antioche*, 269n).

62. *Chanson d'Antioche*, vv. 5310–12.
63. *Chanson d'Antioche*, vv. 5323–47.
64. *Chanson d'Antioche*, vv. 6620–21.
65. She appears three times in the *Chanson d'Antioche*, where her name is Calabre: vv. 766–73, 5252–68, 6838–6956. Duparc-Quioc (105–06) says that the first episode is an addition by Graindor de Douai, while the second was probably part of the original by Richard le Pelerin.
66. *Chanson d'Antioche*, vv. 9111–16, p. 448.
67. Duparc-Quioc, 57, n. 48.

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CHAPTER FIVE

The Essential Enemy: The Image of the Muslim as Adversary and Vassal in the Law and Literature of the Medieval Crown of Aragon

Donald J. Kagay

One of the truly unforeseen consequences of the downfall of the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics was the disappearance of the orchestrated enmity of the world's two superpowers that has come to be called the Cold War. This struggle was not merely the military and geopolitical rivalry of two jealous powers but, thanks to impact of a virulent nationalism, exercised the emotional appeal of a religion. Despite the obvious perils of such a situation in that two equally mighty adversaries were on constant alert to strike or parry the first blow in an atomic Armageddon, the Cold War gave to its participants a malleable enemy, one they could mold not from reality but rather from their own fears and weaknesses. With the collapse of this doctrinal enmity in the late 1980s, the true

complexities of life without “separate but equal” adversaries has dawned on the late twentieth-century world, in that narrow international hatreds seem much more complex than they are comforting.¹ Another era founded on such a dyad of detested but essential adversaries was that of medieval Spain, where Muslim stood against Christian along a frontier that functioned as both battle line and connector. The purpose of this paper is to review this history of hatred and interdependence by delineating the image of the Muslim in the Christian psyche as expressed in the law and literature of the medieval Crown of Aragon.

The foundation of Christian literary response to the catastrophe of the Muslim conquest of the Iberian Peninsula was understandably couched in Visigothic and monastic terms. In a number of works, including the continuation of Isidore of Seville’s *History of the Kings of the Goths, Vandals and Suevi*, the Islamic conquest was seen as a distinctly evil development that, however, was used by God to punish the sins of the Visigothic kingdom.² The small band of Arab and Berber adventurers, that had so efficiently destroyed the decrepit realm of the Visigoths, was thus seen by Christian chroniclers as an instrument of God’s wrath. They could not be considered, however, as purely neutral actors in this divinely inspired drama. Instead they were subject to a withering array of monastic invective (much of it having its origin in Byzantium) that typified them as “barbarians” or “followers of a false prophet.”³ As small Christian refugee communities withstood the Islamic onslaught and then began a slow expansion from the mountain fastness of Asturias, such leaders as Alfonso I (739–757) attempted to exculpate himself from the guilt of his Visigothic forbears by carrying out a godly vengeance on a Muslim populace that was routinely vilified as treacherous and cowardly. The images of the selfless Christian ruler—the “restorer of the fatherland” (*restaurator patriae*) as Alfonso I himself came to be called—and the faithless Muslim potentate became part of an evolving reconquest paradigm that spread across the medieval centuries.⁴ Despite the social and intellectual acculturation between Christian and Muslim in the centuries immediately after the conquest, the ideological line never faded but indeed deepened on both sides. Though given a legal status of sorts as a “protected minority” (*dhimmi*), the *mozárabes*, Christians living under the rule of the Caliphate of Cordova or its political successors, the *ta’ifas*, could find their social and political lot a severely conscribed one. Their minority position often led them to a fanaticism such as that displayed in the martyrs’ movement of ninth-century Toledo.⁵ As Christian arms slowly destroyed the dominance of the Caliphate of Cordova over northern Spain, the *mudéjares*, Muslims living under Christian rule, suffered similar vicissitudes of status.⁶

In the centuries after the Islamic conquest, war, along with acculturation on all social fronts, made the Muslim a known commodity within the Chris-

tian realm. The sons of Islam in *Al-Andalus* and in the rest of the Islamic world, however, remained faceless enemies who had to be attacked by the Church Militant.⁷ Even when this one-dimensional image of Islam in Christian polemic was fleshed out in literature, the turning towards “reality” took place within the chivalric mirror of the *chanson de geste*. In the great classic of this genre, *The Song of Roland*, the Muslim adversary emerged as a bitter foe whose downfall caused general Christian rejoicing. He was also portrayed with some regularity as a valiant opponent as well versed in the ways of chivalry as any Christian knight.⁸ The contours of the Muslim enemy were thrown into much clearer relief by the great Castilian epic, *The Poem of the Cid*, a work replete with faithless Christians, honorable Muslims, and the formation or rupture of alliances across faith lines—a fairly accurate picture of realpolitik in early reconquest Spain.⁹

Despite the wider focus given to the Muslim problem by literature, the mere presence of an Islamic state so close to the heart of Christian Europe was the source of increased war rather than accommodation between the two sides. As the eleventh century waned, local developments, such as the closing of pilgrimage privileges to Jerusalem, brought strident calls across Christendom for intervention, which were eventually answered with the advent of the crusading movement. Far from the ideal of chivalric battle, where a man's strength was held in check by a code of honorable conduct, Christian warriors on crusade could freely butcher or imprison their Muslim adversaries with the full material blessing and spiritual reward of the Church.¹⁰ With such an engine of ideological superiority and material reward to drive it, the great era of Christian reconquest and Muslim defeat was at hand in Spain and throughout the southern Mediterranean.

Though it was the great central Iberian kingdom of Castile-León that conquered the heart of the Peninsula in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the eastern Spanish regions of Aragon and Catalonia, later to be called the *corona de Aragón*, also provide a valuable source of fact and image concerning the contemporary Muslim population. As “a refuge for non-conformists,” the eastern Iberian realms became leaders of the Christian reconquest along the littoral below Tarragona after the union of the two states under one ruler in 1137.¹¹ With the conquests of Lerida and Tortosa in 1148–9, great swaths of rich Muslim land came under the control of the Barcelona dynasty, and this new expanded control was reflected in the laws that it issued. Ramon Berenguer IV (1131–62), the architect of the first phase of Aragonese expansion, capped his great victories with a code that came to be known as the *Usatges of Barcelona*.¹² Though the laws were attributed to an earlier ruler, Ramon Berenguer I (1035–76), they reflect twelfth-century views of Islam and its adherents in eastern Spain. In the code, the sovereign declared himself to be the protector of all his subjects,

no matter of what class or religion.¹³ For the Muslim population, this meant an expressed willingness of the king to stop the taunting that Muslims who had converted to Christianity suffered from their present and former coreligionists.¹⁴ Despite this averred royal protection for Muslim and *converso* communities, the *Usatges* expressed another far stronger societal constant, the Christian fear of *mudéjar* populations living in their midst, and of the *ta'ifa* states that still controlled over half of the Peninsula at that time. The religious influences of Islam on eastern Spanish Christians had to be resisted at all costs. The seriousness of such a threat was expressed in a *Usatges* article that allowed a father to disinherit his son if he converted to Islam.¹⁵ With so many Muslim communities across a short stretch of no-man's-land, anxiety over the invasion or interference of the *ta'ifa* states is apparent in a *Usatges* law that posted large rewards for the return of Muslim captives who had escaped their Christian masters. Whether freemen or not, the status of many Muslims in eastern Spain was not unlike that of slaves.¹⁶ The importance of such a formidable set of enemies across the frontier is shown in the articles that posted large fines for Christians who sold food, weapons, or information to the *ta'ifa* states.¹⁷ As a mirror of twelfth-century society in the Crown of Aragon—albeit, an idealized one—the *Usatges* urged protection of individual Muslim communities while fearing the awesome possibilities of international Islam. Such a dichotomy would live in the minds of kings and political theorists of Christian Iberia for the rest of the Middle Ages.

Giving substance to the bare bones record of law, the chronicle form in eastern Spain provided a set of anti-Muslim motifs that made little effort to comply with a Thucydidean vision of historical truth. With many an Iberian chronicler, an “educated” or clerical direction can be noted that transformed those who practiced Islam into a satanic host fighting for a great metaphysical victory rather than for the occupation of mere territory. In more mundane terms, the chroniclers portrayed the Spanish Muslims as interlopers, and the Christians of the Peninsula as wronged descendants of the Visigothic kingdom who were simply reclaiming their rightful inheritance.¹⁸ Though such cosmic views of the small Christian states largely originated in Castile-León and Navarre, Aragon and Catalonia were not spared the grand eschatological sweep of monastic authors. Such works as the *Gesta Comitum Barchinonensium* and the *Cronica de San Juan de la Peña* did not appear until the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries respectively; yet they replicated the same stilted paradigms first aired in the clerical historiography of the western realms well over a century earlier.¹⁹ One Catalan work, the *Llibre dels Feyts*—more autobiography than chronicle—signaled a sea change in the region's historical writing with a more “realistic” view of the Muslims of the Spanish Levant and Balearic Islands.

Far from reclaiming some lost Visigothic past, the *Book of Deeds*, composed, or at least dictated in several stages of the later life of James I (1213–76), the great warrior-sovereign of the Crown of Aragon, is constructed in far more personal and revealing terms.²⁰ While James I sets out to tell his own story, the exciting result is neither historically impartial nor untouched by contemporary literary influences. While not conceiving of history in the universal terms of the clerical chroniclers, the Conqueror views and interprets his own deeds through the warped lens of chivalry.²¹ Even with its declared prejudice for the great deed carried out for a great cause, the *Llibre dels Feyts* casts up images of both *mudéjar* and Andalusian Muslim populations that resonate through the attitudes and philosophy of the later medieval Crown of Aragon.

For James I, orphaned at an early age and spending much of his boyhood in close confinement at the court of his father's enemy, Simon de Montfort, in Carcassonne or with the Templars at Monzon,²² war with Islam was an everlasting mission that the king used to overcome the humiliations of his early life while donning the aura of a chivalric hero. Thus before James was twenty, he burned to make "a good raid against the Moors." Though largely ineffectual before 1229 in delivering "a good stroke of war" against Spanish Islam, the drive for personal redemption through regnal expansion never left the sovereign.²³ When these boyhood dreams were fulfilled in almost constant periods of war between 1229 and 1266 against the *ta'ifa* states of Majorca, Valencia, Jativa, and Murcia,²⁴ he formed definite, but often conflicting, attitudes towards Muslims as unconquered enemies or royal subjects. Like his son Peter III the Great (1276–85), James could not help but stand in awe of Muslim armies and the glittering impression of gold, silver, and silk they made when forming up for battle.²⁵ His opinion of them as fighting men, however, was much less favorable, though not as unflattering as that portrayed in the contemporary chansons de geste.²⁶ Though generally viewing the Muslim as either ignorant of or unwilling to live up to the general demands of chivalry, the king never failed to credit the courage or chivalric behavior of an individual Islamic enemy. One such adversary in the siege of Majorca city (1229), Ben Abet, at great risk to himself aided the Christian forces at such a critical period of near starvation, that James and his army called him their "angel."²⁷ Even with such rare exceptions, James normally considered the infidel hosts he faced as cowardly and cruel. They did not fight according to the unwritten code of the gentleman-warrior, but displayed a disgusting savagery, as during the Majorcan siege when the Muslim defenders used Christian captives as human shields to prevent the use of trebuchets against the outside walls.²⁸

Even before James I had concluded his great conquests, he entered into an official relationship with subjugated Muslim populations, which was

delineated in the surrender constitutions of many castles and cities. Much like urban communities of Aragon and Catalonia, Muslim *aljamas* or communities acted to accept the king as their lord.²⁹ In return, the king promised “to keep and defend them as . . . [his] subjects and vassals.”³⁰ As an inducement to stop fighting and accept the Christian invader as their sovereign, the *aljamas* were allowed to retain all their political and economic liberties. In most cases, they were to be judged by their own officials in accordance with Islamic “custom” (*sunna*, *çuna*), that the Crown considered to be “the privileges and customs that the Saracens were accustomed to have.”³¹ As a sign of good faith and to provide interim security, the king allowed Muslim garrisons to retain at least some of their fortresses for months or even years after the surrender.³² Despite these efforts at maintaining some self-sufficiency, James, as the lord of Christian and Muslim populations, found himself as a mediator between the two. Such overlapping allegiances proved a quandary not only for the king but also for such Christian hotspurs as Guillem de Aguilo, who though freely admitting that he had robbed and murdered many of the king’s Muslim vassals, could not see that he had done any “disservice” to the Crown since, to him, Islam and its adherents were still the enemy.³³ This was not the last occasion on that James would be caught between his old and new vassals; in each case, his reputation as protector of the Muslims suffered.³⁴ Even into his old age, however, the sovereign continued to intercede for the defeated Muslims. At times, as in the Murcian campaign of 1265–6, James’s reputation as a “good lord” helped bring on the Muslim surrender of whole districts. Since it had been agreed that Murcia would pass to his son-in-law, Alfonso X, James had to use all means short of war to make the Castilian king honor the surrender treaties negotiated with the embattled Muslim strongholds.³⁵ Despite such intense domestic and foreign pressure, James remained a stalwart defender of the commitments he had made with Muslim communities, even though many of them had been forced at the point of a sword.

The other side of the Conqueror’s relationship with his Muslim vassals was one of frustration, fear, and finally rage. With the relatively large Muslim populations in the lands he conquered, “ethnic cleansing” such as Charlemagne’s deportation of the Saxons, was impossible. Instead, James relied on feudal bonds, but soon found that his new Muslim vassals caused him as much trouble as did his old rebellious Christian ones.³⁶ Regardless of the pledged love between James and his Muslim vassals, the king’s crusading mandate—conversion of the infidel or destruction of their land—was a feeling that did not easily evaporate among the vanquished or the victors.³⁷ Nor was there a lessening of the Christian fear that the large Muslim *aljamas* in Valencia, Jativa, or Murcia might conspire with their coreligionists in

Granada or North Africa to rise in a general rebellion to overwhelm the Christian control of lands so recently won from Islam.³⁸ When this feared prophecy came true with the Al-Azraq revolt of 1244–5, James's anger knew no bounds. Though he promised much the same kind of vengeance as he did against his fractious Christian barons in 1265–6,³⁹ he soon became convinced that, even when confronted with the terror of his anger, those Muslims not involved in treason still cared “very little or nothing about [his] troubles.”⁴⁰ As these troubles intensified in the last decades of his life, the king's attitude toward his Muslim vassals moved from a feeling of betrayal to a burning assurance that such faithless people had to be hounded from his lands. Because of their unforgivable “audacity” that held “royal love and sovereignty” in such low esteem, James long planned “to repay them well and in full force” by driving all of the Islamic populations out of his lands.⁴¹ James's rancor intensified in his last years; with yet another *mudéjar* rebellion in 1275, the sovereign—from his deathbed—begged his son to continue the war until all of the Muslims were expelled from Valencia. According to the aged campaigner, the followers of the Prophet in eastern Spain had become, and perhaps always were, enemies who strove “to injure and deceive [him] whenever they could.”⁴² A gauntlet between Christian overlord and Muslim vassal had clearly been cast down here, but its ultimate effects would not be realized for some three centuries.

In spite of James's dire behest to his son, the Muslim communities persisted for centuries to come and, in fact, outlived the Crown of Aragon itself. As members of *aljamas* or individual sharecroppers (*exarici*),⁴³ the Muslims of eastern Spain lived under a legal status that was defined with some uniformity but interpreted in different ways, many of them prejudicial to them. While the great codes of the region—the *Usatges of Barcelona*, *Fueros of Aragon*, and *Furs of Valencia*—dealt in general terms with the infidel's position in Christian society, a more focused, mundane view of *mudéjar* life is apparent in the municipal lawcodes (*fueros*) and individual royal directives. The most defensible Muslim rights were those that came as the result of grants of autonomy to the *aljama*. Such statements of privilege and duty were often defined as part of the surrender agreement that the Christian conqueror dictated.⁴⁴ In such laws, both the servitude and the freedom of *mudéjar* society is evident.

Definition of Muslim status was clearly in the hands of the Christian overclass. A sizeable minority of the *mudéjares* came into eastern Spain as slaves or fell into that unhappy state because of rebellion against Christian authority. As chattel, they could be sold at any time; as “strayed property,” the runaway Muslim slave faced a hostile Christian land that was encouraged by the posting of rewards to return him to the wrath of his master. Their only sure routes of escape were death or manumission. It was the latter practice that

slave owners among the upper ranks of eastern Spanish society regularly engaged in as their own deaths approached.⁴⁵ Despite the importance of such ports as Majorca, Barcelona, and Valencia as slave entrepôts for a European-wide market,⁴⁶ most Muslims in the Crown of Aragon were born or died as freemen. Though repeatedly referred to as “the special treasure of the king” in general law codes,⁴⁷ the Muslim based his status not on such vague formulas, but rather relied on the feudal pact or *convenientia* that laid out specific duties toward and rights claimed from the lord. The lord acted as protector and guarantor of his Muslim vassal before town or royal law; in return, the vassals promised to do everything “good and faithful men ought to do for their good and loyal lord;” namely, to provide service, advice, food, or money whenever needed.⁴⁸ Though seldom called to military service, Muslim vassals were very often responsible for the wall repair of the cities they lived in or to garrison urban fortresses.⁴⁹

Within the feudal world in which they lived, *mudéjar* individuals and communities won for themselves a political niche of considerable autonomy. Each *aljama* chose its own officials, the most significant of that was the *qadi* (*alcalde*, Span.), the chief judge who also served as the principal Arabic calligrapher, and the *sahib al madina* (*zalmedina*, Span.), who served as the *aljama*’s principal peace officer and the *muhtasib* (*almutazaf*, Span.).⁵⁰ All *aljama* officials carried out their offices according to Muslim law and with very little interference from royal agents.⁵¹ Most legal and fiscal matters were settled within the *aljama*, unless no agreement could be reached, and then *mudéjar* litigants could appeal to royal courts. Christian judges, however, were repeatedly warned not to offend by their verdicts the Islamic *sunna* or to impose penalties that required a Christian executioner.⁵² As an important source of “captive royal financing,” the economic status of the *aljama* was very closely defined. As specified in many of the surrender treaties, exemption from all royal taxation was extended to the community for a year or more. When taxes were finally due, they were collected by both the Crown and the local lord. Immunities from tolls and excise taxes, often bought from the Crown, were enjoyed by individual Muslim merchants. Such privileges were seldom extended to full communities, which were used by the Crown as a source of regular and emergency revenue. Sovereigns from James I, however, did allow the *aljamias* to negotiate discounted block payments to cover several years of full taxation.⁵³ While Muslim economic activity was largely unimpeded by royal interference, such oversight regularly became necessary when *mudéjar* economic interests collided with those of the Jews.⁵⁴ Of all the statements of separate status under the canopy of royal protection and power, that which centered on the Muslim’s freedom to practice his religion was the most complex and fraught with danger. The *aljama*’s right to worship in its unique way, teach the tenets of Muhammad, and maintain a sep-

arate cemetery were privileges that were affirmed and reaffirmed by Christian rulers from the twelfth century on.⁵⁵ Such religious privileges, however, did not allow the *aljama* to prevent its own members from converting to Christianity or to pressure them to come back to their old faith.⁵⁶ Thus while the letter of Christian legal philosophy decreed that “Moors shall live among Christians . . . by observing their own rites but not insulting ours,” the very proximity of the Christian and Muslim neighborhoods made such segregation a difficult thing to attain as James I himself discovered in 1266 at Murcia, when his sleep was disturbed by the call to prayer of the *muezzin* (mu’adhdim).⁵⁷ Tolerance of these exotic differences had its limits and these would be severely tested in the later Middle Ages by religious and chivalric fanaticism.

By a cursory comparison of law and chronicle, it is easy to see that the way Muslims were supposed to live within the Christian orbit and the way they actually did were two very different things. Due to the interaction of Muslim and Christian in Iberian urban society, *convivencia* or “coexistence”—to use Américo Castro’s term—was almost inevitable. Acculturation in literature, language, art, and music flowed in both directions across the walls put up by religion.⁵⁸ Despite these unavoidable, almost atmospheric influences, it was an inferior status of separation, not of accommodation, that Christian rulers attempted to impose on their Muslim subjects. “The abominable sect of Muhammad” was distinguished from its Christian neighbors by the cramped, often walled-off *barrios* in which its members lived, as well as by the general labels in the Christian vernacular, such as *moro*, *sarrahin* or *mudéjar* applied to them in the Christian vernacular.⁵⁹ To these customary norms of differentiation, there were added statutory rules that attempted to reinforce the inferior place of *mudéjar* society by enforcing on its members a different standard of public mores, as well as distinctive clothing and hairstyles “so the Saracens may be distinguished among the Christians.”⁶⁰ As a warning not to violate these age-old canons of difference, the *mudéjar* was subjected to a “measured reign of terror” by nobles or towns for distinctly minor offenses.⁶¹ From a Christian point of view, the life of a Muslim—a life that could suffer insult, damage, or death without receiving the automatic protection of the law—was a fate worse than death.⁶² In many ways, then, *convivencia* was as much a “living against or in spite of” as it was a “living together.”

While the *mudéjar* communities in the medieval Crown of Aragon were often better defined than safeguarded by royal and municipal law,⁶³ their social position proved even flimsier before the winds of fear and intolerance that swept across Europe in the later Middle Ages. Despite some attempts among Europe’s intelligentsia to promote a greater understanding of Islam, these efforts were not rooted in a desire for international brotherhood but rather to render conversion more efficient.⁶⁴ With the advancement of the

Ottoman Empire, which stunned Western Europe with the conquest of Constantinople in 1453, the calls for a closer study of Islam were shunted aside in a political and intellectual drive for the renewal of holy war against a reconstituted Islamic "terror of the world."⁶⁵ Even before the astounding victories of Suleiman the Magnificent, however, popes from Innocent III (1198–1216) addressed the vexing problem of Islamic minorities under Christian rule. Comparing the infidel with the heretic in regard to his standing in Christian society, a number of thirteenth- and fourteenth-century popes urged that the majority population should be sheltered from all marks of this "infection," including the traditional call to prayer. Segregation was to be made a point of public consciousness with the enforcement of dress codes on both the *mudéjar* and *converso* populations.⁶⁶ In such a frenzied atmosphere of official bigotry, the last centuries of Muslim life in eastern Spain were lived out.

In spite of the external pressures that conspired to shift the statutory basis on that Christian-Muslim accommodation was founded in the Crown of Aragon, the habit of *convivencia* lingered on into the fifteenth century. Feudal ties still breached the frontier between Andalusia and Granada, and these allegiances could be far stronger than the bonds between Christians. Long centuries of such interaction could lead such writers as Ramon Llull to declare that "the infidels are flesh and blood, being like us in species and form." Unaffected by such daring assertions, all of the sovereigns of the later Middle Ages repeatedly declared royal protection of their *mudéjares*, not because of any softening towards Islam but because of the economic importance of this Muslim "treasure" to the Crown, as well as royal concern for the catastrophic decline in *aljama* populations.⁶⁷ Written rules or philosophical theories, however, could not change attitudes; it was thus the growing hatred and fear of reprisal among the Christian overlords that sent many of the *mudéjares* of Valencia and Andalusia to the kingdom of Granada in the decades before its final investment and conquest in 1492. For the Islamic populace that remained, life in the Crown of Aragon was constantly narrowed in the wake of Christian prejudices that, at best, portrayed Muslims as "foolish and unreasonable" in their faith and, at worst, as a horde of monsters that fed off cruelty and sexual perversion.⁶⁸ Throughout the fifteenth century, Islam itself was under attack by waves of Dominican apologists who debated Muslim scholars while preaching the benefits of conversion to captive *aljama* audiences. Even when the Muslim abandoned his old ways, he could never step out from the suspicion of Christian society that he was still secretly practicing his old religion.⁶⁹ As the fifteenth century passed, *mudéjar* communities thus found themselves subjected to a Christian hatred that had now grown into a political and eschatological structure, which focused on

the conquest of Granada as the touchstone of unified Spain's national greatness, as well as the signal for the inexorable movement toward the end of the world. All Islamic interlopers, a population that had so influenced Spain's past seven centuries, would now be defeated and exiled in the wake of this earth-shattering development.⁷⁰

As religious fanaticism turned to prophecy to justify attacks on the legal status of *mudéjar* society, so it relied on literature to formulate both the program and the ideology of the "final solution" in regard to its infidel populations as ultimately to be practiced by the Spanish monarchy. After a century and a half of intermittent civil war and foreign invasion, chroniclers and poets were ambivalent to praise any war, even that against Islam.⁷¹ The early world of conflict with Islam as a theater of chivalry, in which both Christians and Muslims had assigned parts to play, was slowly replaced by a more bitter brand of holy war. Throughout the fifteenth century, the papacy preached with increased stridency a crusade against Granada.⁷² Courtier poets, such as Alonso de Palencia and Diego de Valera, railed against the nobles of their land who let an infidel kingdom survive in their midst unasailed. In 1463, a *converso* poet rhapsodized: "How glorious would be the King; how famous his vassals; how great the Crown of Spain if the king were to march on Granada and burst into Africa."⁷³ With the marriage of Ferdinand II of Aragon and Isabella I of Castile in 1479, war on Islam seemed not only a religious destiny but also a political one that would put their own troubled lands at peace.⁷⁴

In Catalonia, this ambivalence between chivalric and holy war against Islam is apparent in the same book, the great work of knightly adventure and love, *Tirant lo Blanc*. Written by a scion of an old Valencia family, Joanot Martorell, after 1460, and later massively edited and published by the Barcelonan Martí Joan de Galba in 1490, the *Tirant* is both an account of glorious deeds and a sounding board for religious renewal and unrelenting war on Islam after the disaster of Constantinople in 1453. In its first manifestation, the hero, a wandering knight of Valencia like Martorell, was dedicated to a mission that was delineated by Ramon Llull in the thirteenth century: "by force of arms . . . [to] vanquish the wicked who daily labor to destroy the Holy Church."⁷⁵ The spear-point of Tirant's bellicose energies was directed against Islam, but this was not his only enemy. Living by the rules of chivalry, he could judge a man as much by his deeds as by his religious beliefs. Thus, Christians could be faithless; Muslims, courageous and chivalrous. Such complexity could only exist for Tirant because of his creator's familiarity with *mudéjar* life in peace and war. While Martorell was touched by the new crusading spirit spreading across Christendom, his hero, like the great Hungarian military figure John Hunyadi on whom Tirant is based, is as much a defender of Christianity as he is an opponent of international Islam, which formed up under the banner of the Ottomans. In

Tirant's chivalric equation, then, the Muslim was a necessary element that allowed the Christian warrior to show his meddle while protecting his faith.⁷⁶ This "justification by deed" gave way to a constant crusade under the heavy hand of *Tirant's* editor. As a minor cleric from Old Catalonia, Galba was far less knowledgeable of *mudéjar* and Granadine life and far more moved by an intractable spirit of crusade against Islam than was Martorell. Unlike the earlier Tirant, who goes into battle for individual honor and the glory of his material and spiritual lord, Galba's hero, though experienced in duel and battle, also knew something of "spiritual matters."⁷⁷ In fact, the new Tirant is transformed into a missionary who converts and baptizes the upper crust of Barbary society and, buoyed up by a fanatical Christian faith, challenged all the Muslims he met to test their beliefs in the lists. With the advent of such self-righteous militancy, it is little wonder that the physiognomy of Tirant's Muslim adversary lost much of his individuality to be replaced with formulaic, stereotypical descriptions. Thus as a perfect knight/missioner, Tirant is occasionally outmaneuvered and outnumbered by Islamic enemies, but is never deserted by his God. With the defeat of his opponents, he forced them to rail against Allah and range themselves under the banner of Christ. War, rather than being solely a contest for glory, is now transformed into a winner-take-all struggle for the soul of the unbeliever.⁷⁸ The transmogrification of the old chivalric Tirant signals the metamorphosis of eastern Spain—indeed, of all Christian Spain—from a land fashioned by the pliable, though fragile, interaction of the "three races" to one that came to feel polluted by "the scourge" of the "nations of the cursed seed," which would have to be driven out before the "purity" that had existed during Visigothic times could be reclaimed once more.⁷⁹

With the conquest of Granada in 1492, the *mudéjar* in the Crown of Aragon was an anachronism left behind by a waxing Christian militarism that made Islam one of a number of enemies for such new *milites Dei* as the Inquisition, the Society of Jesus, and the Holy League, who fought and celebrated holy war much as had the "enthusiasts" who brought on the First Crusade.⁸⁰ Perched on the very end of their Iberian existence, the Spanish Muslims, or *moriscos* as they came to be called, lived a shadow life for a century after the defeat of Granada, suffering one political or religious intrusion after another at the hands of their Christian masters. In 1609, the *moriscos* suffered imperial Spain's ultimate solution and, like the Jews, were driven from the Iberian world.⁸¹ Like his Jewish fellows, the Spanish Muslim, long "enslaved to the stranger" was equally enslaved by the image that the "stranger" projected on him.⁸² The story of the Muslims of medieval Spain seems a disturbingly familiar one for a modern world in which changes of majority attitudes can wrought tremendous vicissitudes on the lives of racial, linguistic, or religious minorities, which, though having little possibility of entering into the societal mainstream, are essential for that mainstream's

view of itself.⁸³ The “we” and “they” paradigm of both medieval and modern life, then, seems to be different sides of the selfsame coin.

Notes

1. *Europe Transformed: Documents on the End of the Cold War*, ed. Lawrence Freedman (London, 1991); *Why the Cold War Ended: A Range of Interpretations*, eds. Ralph Summy and Michael E. Sull (Westport CT, 1995); *From Cold War to Collapse: Theory and World Politics in the 1980s*, eds. Mike Bowker and Robin Brown (Cambridge, 1993); *The End of the Cold War*, eds. David Armstrong and Erik Goldstein (London, 1990).
2. Ron Barkai, *Cristianos y musulmanes en la España medieval. (El enemigo en el espejo)* (Madrid, 1984), 279.
3. Barkai, *Cristianos y musulmanes*, 22–24; Benjamin Z. Kedar, *Crusade and Mission: European Approaches to the Muslims* (Princeton, 1984), 85; Carmen Batlle, “Los musulmanes en España,” in *Textos comentados de época medieval (siglo V al XII)* (Barcelona, 1975), 287–90. For Byzantine views, see John Meyendorff, “Byzantine Views of Islam,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 18 (1964): 115–32.
4. Roger Collins, *The Arab Conquest of Spain, 710–797* (Oxford, 1989), 152–53; José Antonio Maravall, “La idea de reconquista en España durante la Edad Media,” *Estudios sobre Historia de España*, ed. Manuel Fernández Álvarez, *El Legado de la Historia* 4 (Madrid, 1965), 184.
5. Thomas F. Glick, *Islamic and Christian Spain in the Early Middle Ages. Comparative Perspectives on Social and Cultural Formation* (Princeton, 1979), 168–70; C. M. Sage, *Paul Albar of Cordoba* (Washington, 1943); *Textos*, 294–95; Collins, 217–30.
6. Anwar G. Chejne, *Islam and the West: The Moriscos. A Cultural and Social History* (Albany, 1983), 77–81; Kedar, 36–37; Barkai, 41, 46; *Textos*, 448–53.
7. James Waltz, “Carolingian Attitudes Regarding Muslims,” *Studies in Medieval Culture* 5 (1975): 38.
8. *The Song of Roland*, trans. Glyn Burges (London, 1990), chaps. 3, 8, 14, 232, pp. 32–33, 35, 131; Norman Daniel, *Heroes and Saracens: An Interpretation of the Chansons de Geste* (Edinburgh, 1984), 107–08, 110, 113–14; Kedar, 134; Maravall, 192. The author of the poem allowed the Muslim leaders to at least “have the look of a true baron”; one of them, Blancandrin, was typified as “a wise and valiant knight.” Normally, however, the Muslim was not to be trusted and his fate, like Charlemagne’s victims at Cordova, was either death or conversion to Christianity.
9. *The Poem of the Cid*, trans. Rita Hamilton (London, 1984), chaps. 36, 39, 44, 85, 126, 141, pp. 61, 63, 67, 105, 161, 193; Ramón Menéndez, *The Cid and His Spain*, trans. H. Sutherland (London, 1934); Ramón Menéndez, *El Cid Campeador* (Buenas Aires, 1955); Richard Fletcher, *The Quest for El Cid* (New York, 1990); Ganzalo Martínez Díaz, *Hombres para un pueblo: El Cid histórico* (Valladolid, 1983). A monolithic Muslim enemy is impossible to find in the poem that is an account of the honorable and

dishonorable relationships of Rodrigo Vivar de Díaz with the princes and sovereigns of eastern Spain. There is no chivalric exemplar in this frontier land where the Cid might leave many hundred infidels dead on the battlefield but also proved to be a fair and beloved governor to his Muslim vassals and subjects.

10. Norman Daniel, *The Arabs and Mediaeval Europe* (London, 1975), 86; Norman Daniel, *Islam and the West: The Making of an Image* (Edinburgh, 1960), 62–3, 112, 118–9; James Muldoon, *Popes, Lawyers and Infidels: The Church and the Non-Christian World, 1250–1550* (Philadelphia, 1979), 15–20, 191–2; Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Crusades. A Short History* (New Haven CT, 1987), 2–3; Steven Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 4 vols., (London, 1951). 1: 90–1.
11. Thomas N. Bisson, *The Medieval Crown of Aragon* (Oxford, 1989), 9; Charles J. Bishko, "The Spanish and Portuguese Reconquest," in *A History of the Crusades*, ed. Kenneth M. Setton et al., 6 vols. (Madison, 1962–75), 3: 400–405, 409–11; Derek Lomax, *The Reconquest of Spain* (London, 1968), 55–58, 68–78, 83, 93; David Wasserstein, *The Rise and Fall of the Party Kings* (Princeton, 1985), 288–99.
12. Donald J. Kagay, trans., *The Usatges of Barcelona: The Fundamental Law of Catalonia* (Philadelphia, 1994), 11; José Maria Font Rius, "La comarca de Tortosa a raíz de la reconquista cristiana (1148)," *Cuadernos de Historia de España* 18 (1953): 165.
13. *Usatges de Barcelona. El Codi a mitjan segle XII*, ed. Joan Bastardas (Barcelona, 1984), art. 60, p. 96; *Usatges*, trans. Kagay, 78.
14. *Usatges*, art. 70, p. 100; *Usatges*, trans. Kagay, 81; Maravall, 203–044.
15. *Usatges*, art. 119, p. 154; *Usatges*, trans. Kagay, 95.
16. *Usatges*, art. 83, p. 130; *Usatges*, trans. Kagay, 95.
17. *Usatges*, arts. 100–2, p. 154; *Usatges*, trans. Kagay, 90.
18. Barkai, 234, 242–45, 294.
19. *The Chronicle of San Juan de la Peña: A Fourteenth-Century Official History of the Crown of Aragon*, trans. Lynn N. Nelson (Philadelphia, 1991), chaps. 4, 10–1, 26, pp. 6–9, 45; L. Barrau Dihigo and J Massó Torrent, eds., *Gesta Comitum Barchinonensium. Textos Llatí i Català, Cròniques Catalanes*, vol. 2 (Barcelona, 1925), chaps. 2, 11–22, pp. 24–25, 32–34.
20. Jaume Massó Torrents, *De la crònica del Rei en Jaume I el Conqueridor* (Tarragona, 1911), 9–10; Manuel de Montliu, "La Canço de Gesta de Jaume I. Nova teoria sobre la Crònica de Conqueridor," *Butlletí Arqueologic* 9 (1922): 215–16; Ferran Soldevila, "La Crònica de Jaume I i manuscrit de Poblet," *Miscel·lania Populeta* 1 (1966): 307; Jaume Riera i Sans, "La personalitat eclesiàstica del redactor del *Llibre dels Feyts*," *X Congrés d'història de la Corona de Aragó. Jaume I y su época [X CHCA]*, 3 vols. (Zaragoza, 1980), *Comunicaciones*, 3, 4, y 5, 575–81.
21. Martin de Riquer, *El trovador Guilhem de Berguedán y las luchas feudales de su tiempo* (Castellon, 1953), 7–10; Martin de Riquer, "El mundo cultural en la corona de Aragón," *X CHCA, Ponencias*, 293–312.

22. *Llibre dels Feyts* [LF] in *Els quatre grans cròniques*, ed. Ferran Soldevila (Barcelona, 1971), chap. 11, p. 8; Ferran Soldevila, *Els primers temps de Jaume I* (Barcelona, 1968), 1–3, 75–6; Salvador Sanpere y Miquel, “La minoria de Jaime I,” *Congrés d’història de la Corona de Aragó, dedicat al rey en Jaume I y la seva època*, 2 vols. (Barcelona, 1909–13), 2: 604.
23. LF, chaps. 25, 117, pp. 15, 59. [*bona cavalcada; bona guerreria*].
24. For treatment of James as a military commander, see Paul Douglas Humphries, “Of Arms and Men: Siege and Battle Tactics in the Catalan Grand Chronicles,” *Military Affairs* 48–9 (1984–5): 173–78; Paul E. Chevedden, “The Artillery of James I the Conqueror,” in *Iberia and the Western Mediterranean: Essays in Honor of Robert I. Burns*, S. J., eds. Paul E. Chevedden, Donald J. Kagay, Paul G. Padilla, 2 vols. (Leiden, 1996), 47–94; Donald J. Kagay, “The Conqueror as Logistician: Army Mobilization, Royal Administration and the Realm in the Thirteenth-Century Crown of Aragon,” in *Iberia and the Western Mediterranean*, eds. Chevedden, Kagay, Padilla, 95–116.
25. Bernat Desclot, *The Chronicle of King Pedro III of Aragon*, trans. F. L. Crichtlow, 2 vols. (Princeton, 1928), chap. 17, p. 58.
26. Barkai, 155; Daniel, *Heroes*, 104–107.
27. LF, chap. 71, pp. 41–42.
28. LF, chap. 71, pp. 41–42.
29. Donald J. Kagay, “Royal Power in an Urban Setting: James I and the Towns of the Crown of Aragon,” *Mediaevistik* 8 (1995): 127–36.
30. LF, chaps. 183, 313, 418, pp. 82, 122, 152.
31. Robert I. Burns, S.J., *Islam under the Crusaders. Colonial Survival in the Thirteenth-Century Kingdom of Valencia* (Princeton NJ, 1973), 227–28; Glick, 171.
32. Burns, *Islam under the Crusaders*, chaps. 56, 121, 337, pp. 32–33, 61, 128; Barkai, 239–40; Robert I. Burns, S.J., *Muslims, Christians and Jews in the Crusader Kingdom of Valencia. Societies in Symbiosis* (Cambridge, 1984), 54–66; Burns, *Islam*, 117–38.
33. LF, chap. 306, p. 120: [*E ell dix que havia feit mal als sarraïns e no es cuidava que en aço ens faes desservici*].
34. LF, chaps. 91, 277, 432, pp. 50, 112, 156.
35. LF, chaps. 283, 437, pp. 114, 157; Barkai, 240–1; Juan Torres Fontes, *La reconquista de Murcia en 1266 por Jaim I de Aragón* (Murcia, 1967), 137–45.
36. Donald J. Kagay, “Structures of Baronial Dissent and Revolt under James I (1213–76),” *Mediaevistik* 1 (1988): 66–67.
37. LF, chap. 56, pp. 32–33.
38. LF, chap. 384, pp. 142–43. For relations of Spanish Christian and Muslim states in the late Middle Ages, see Joseph F. O’Callaghan, *The Learned King: The Reign of Alfonso X of Castile* (Philadelphia, 1993), 234–35, 244, 247, 249; Miguel Angel Ladero Quesada, *Granada: Historia de un país islámico, 1232–1371* (Madrid, 1969); Manuel Sánchez Martínez, “Las relaciones de la Corona de Aragón con los Países musulmanes en la época de Pedro el

- Ceremonioso," *Pere el Cerimoniós i la seva època*, eds. Maria Teresa Ferrer i Mallol and Salvador Claramunt (Barcelona, 1989), 75–97.
39. Kagay, "Structures," 64. In a royal order that demanded support against the baronial rebels, James warned his Aragonese and Catalan towns that if they did not help him, they would suffer such "harm and damage that though it would displease us after the fact, we believe it would displease you even more."
 40. *LF*, chap. 362, p. 135: [*que ver deits que poca cura n'han*]. For Al Azrak revolt, see Burns, *Muslims*, 239–84 and Burns with Paul E. Chevedden, "Al-Azraq's Treaty with Jaume I and Prince Alfonso: Arabic Text and Valencian Context," *Der Islam* 66 (1989): 2–3.
 41. *LF*, chaps. 361, 364, 367–68, pp. 135–37: [*ardiment; la nostra amor i la nostra senyoria; que els ho carvendrem regeu e fort*].
 42. *LF*, chap. 564, p. 189: [*fèr a nós greuge i a nós decebre si poguessen*]. James I died at Valencia on July 24, 1276.
 43. Felipe Fernández y González, *Estado social y político de los mudéjares de Castilla* (1866; Madrid, 1985), doc. 21, pp. 286–87; Esteban Sarasa Sánchez, *Sociedad y conflictos sociales en Aragón: siglos XIII–XV. (Estructuras de poder y conflictos de clase)* (Madrid, 1981), 211–12; P. E. Russell, *Spain: A Companion to Spanish Studies* (London, 1973), 85–86; Burns, *Islam*, 102–04.
 44. Fernández y González, doc. 18, p. 317; Sarasa Sánchez, 210–11.
 45. Francisco A. Roca Traver, "Un siglo de vida mudéjar en la Valencia medieval (1238–1338)," *Estudios de Edad Media de Aragón* 5 (1952): doc. 4, p. 193; Joaquin Miret y Sans, *Itinerari de Jaume I "el Conqueridor"* (Barcelona, 1918), 271; Ambrosio Huici y Miranda and Maria Desamperados Cabanes Pecourt, eds., *Documentos de Jaime I [DJ]*, 4 vols. (Zaragoza, 1976–8), 3: docs. 792, 797, pp. 267, 270–71; Burns, *Islam*, 109–12.
 46. Vincenta Cortés Alonso, *La esclavitud en Valencia durante el reinado de los Reyes Católicos* (Valencia, 1964); Vincenta Cortés Alonso, "Los pasajes de esclavos de Valencia en tiempo de Alfonso V," *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 10 (1980): 791–803; Charles-Emmanuel Dufourcq, "Aspects internationaux de Majorque durant les dernier siècles du Moyen Âge," *Mayurqa, Miscelaneas de estudios humanisticos* 11 (1974): 5–52; Paul G. Padilla, "The Transport of Muslim Slaves in Fifteenth-Century Valencia," in *Iberia and the Medieval Mediterranean*, eds. Chevedden, Kagay, Padilla, 379–94.
 47. John Boswell, *The Royal Treasure: Muslim Communities Under the Crown of Aragon in the Fourteenth Century* (New Haven CT, 1977), 30.
 48. Boswell, *The Royal Treasure*, 36–37; *DJ*, doc. 85, p. 99; Miret y Sans, 56; James Muldoon, ed., *The Expansion of Europe: The First Phase* (Philadelphia, 1977), doc. 16, pp. 84–86; Angel Canellas López, ed., *Colección diplomática del concejo de Zaragoza [CDCZ]*, 2 vols. (Zaragoza, 1972), 2: doc. 130, pp. 119–20; Sarasa Sánchez, 213; Robert I. Burns, S.J. "The Muslim in the Christian Feudal Order: The Kingdom of Valencia, 1240–1280," *Studies in Culture* 5 (1975): 111, 113, 116–19.
 49. *CDCZ* 1: doc. 66, pp. 168–69; 2: doc. 41, pp. 75–76; Boswell, 167, 180; Burns, *Islam*, 273–90.

50. CDCZ, 2: doc. 59, p. 84; Fernández y González, doc. 24, p. 324; L. P. Harvey, *Islamic Spain 1250–1500* (Chicago, 1992), 127–30; Burns, *Islam*, 232–39; Luis García de Valdeavellano y Arcimus, *Curso de historia de los instituciones españolas de los orígenes al final de la Edad Media* (Madrid, 1968), 666–67, 670–71.
51. Fernández y González, docs. 7, 24, 41, pp. 315–16, 327, 353; Roca Traver, doc. 7, p. 194; Boswell, 108, 125, 131.
52. *DJ*, 3: doc. 758, p. 240; CDCZ, 2: docs. 210, 240, 242, pp. 160, 177–78; Miret y Sans, 248.
53. Miret y Sans, 254; Roca Traver, doc. 8, 0. 194, Fernández y González, docs. 24, 45, pp. 326–7, 358–9; CDCZ, 1: docs. 34, 41, 51, pp. 123, 132, 143–4; Burns, *Islam*, 72–73, 96.
54. Roca Traver, docs. 1, 11, pp. 190, 196; CDCZ, 1: doc. 142, p. 238; 2: docs. 333, 342, 387, pp. 235–36, 240, 266.
55. Fernández y González, doc. 24, p. 32; *DJ*, 2: doc. 350, pp. 131–32; Boswell, 286; Burns, *Islam*, 185–206.
56. Fernández y González, doc. 24, p. 325; *CHCZ*, 1: doc. 66, p. 168.
57. *LF*, chap. 445, p. 159; Norman Housely, *The Later Crusades from Lyon to Alcazar 1274–1580* (Oxford, 1992), 273; Joseph F. O' Callaghan, *A History of Medieval Spain* (Ithaca NY, 1975), 367.
58. Américo Castro, *The Spaniards: An Introduction to their History*, trans. Williard F. King and Selma Margaretten (Berkeley, 1971), 179–81; Sarasa y Sanchez, 210, Housely, 273–74; Glick, 166, 295–96; Burns, *Muslims*, 179–81; Ann Livermore, *A Short History of Spanish Music* (New York, 1972), 34–47; Richard Fletcher, *Moorish Spain* (Berkeley, 1992), 134–56.
59. Boswell, 3; Glick, 166; Roca Traver, 194–95; Burns, *Islam*, 64.
60. Boswell, 344; Roca Traver, doc. 12, p. 19; Sarasa Sánchez, 214; Fernández y González, docs. 24, 56, pp. 325–27, 369.
61. Boswell, 356–57.
62. Kedar, 91.
63. Johannes Vincke, ed., *Documenta Selecta Mutuas Civitatis Arago-Cathalaunicae et Ecclesiae Relationes Illustrantia* [DS], Biblioteca historica de la Biblioteca Balmes, vol. 2, ser. 2 (Barcelona, 1936), doc. 217, pp. 146–47. The complexity of this relationship is reflected in a royal communiqué of 1314, in that James II reprimanded the vicar of Jativa for his interference in an economic dispute between Christians and Muslims of the town. By such an action, the cleric violated the jurisdiction of the bailiff, the royal official of record in the town, as well as the traditional right of the Muslims to be judged by their *sunna*.
64. R. W. Southern, *Western Views of Islam in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge Mass., 1962), 91–94.
65. Southern, *Western Views of Islam*, 95–96; Bernard Lewis, *The Muslim Discovery of Europe* (New York, 1983), 23–24; Andrew Wheatcroft, *The Ottomans* (London, 1993), 23–24.
66. Roca Traver, doc. 26, pp. 203–04; Kedar, docs. e, f, pp. 214–15; Muldoon, *Popes*, 51–52; Housely, 272–73; Boswell, 331–32.

67. José Enrique López de Coca Castañer, "Institution on the Castilian-Granadan Frontier, 1369-1482," *Medieval Frontier Societies*, eds. Robert Bartlett and Angus MacKay (Oxford, 1989), 148-49; Sarasa Sanchez, 215; Castro, p. 503, n. 7.
68. Chejne, 76; Dwayne E. Carpenter, "Social Perception and Literary Portrayal: Jews and Muslims in Medieval Spanish Literature," *Convivencia: Jews, Muslims and Christians in Medieval Spain* (New York, 1992), 73-76.
69. DS, doc. 448, pp. 325-26; Sarasa Sánchez, 214-17; Burns, *Muslims*, 8-34. DS, doc. 448, pp. 325-26; Sarasa Sánchez, 214-17; Burns, *Muslims*, 8-34.
70. Muldoon, *Popes*, 20, 27, 141; Castro, 495-96; Vincente Cantarino, *Entre monjes y musulmanes: El conflicto que fue España* (Madrid, 1978), 96-99; José Antonio Maravall, *Utopia and Counterutopia in the "Quijote"* (Detroit, 1991), 64; Christopher Columbus, *Libro de las profecias*, trans. Delno C. West and August Kling (Gainesville, FL, 1991), 33-35; Abbas Hamdani, "Columbus and the Recovery of Jerusalem," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 99:1 (1979): 41-42; Angus MacKay, "Religion, Culture and Ideology on the Late Medieval Castilian-Granadan Frontier," in *Medieval Frontier Societies*, 242.
71. José Maria Lacarra, "Ideales de la vida en la España de siglo XV: El caballero y el moro," *Aragón en la Edad Media* 5 (1983): 310, 312-13.
72. Housely, 292-94.
73. Roger Boase, *The Troubadour Revival: A Study of Social Change and Tradition in Late Medieval Spain* (London, 1978), 112; Lacarra, 309; Maravall, *Utopia*, 64-65, 80.
74. Lacarra, 311, 317; Housely, 319-20.
75. Ramon Llull, "The Book on the Order of Chivalry," in *The History of Feudalism*, ed. David Herlihy (New York, 1970). doc. 51, p. 313.
76. María Jesús Rubiera Mata, *Tirant contra el Islam* (Alicante, 1993), 44-45, 67; María Jesús Rubiera Mata, "El món cavalleresc àrab i el món cavalleresc del *Tirant*," *Afers* 10 (1990): 267-300.
77. Rubiera i Mata, *Tirant*, 45, 58, 60, 65-68; Joanot Martorell and Martí Joan de Galba, *Tirant lo Blanc*, trans. David Rosenthal (New York, 1984), chap. 327, 483.
78. *Tirant*, trans. Rosenthal, chaps. 308, 319, 326, 337-38, 347, pp. 462, 477, 482-83, 494, 503; Rubiera i Mata, *Tirant*, 67, 91.
79. *Tirant*, trans. Rosenthal, chap. 330, p. 486.
80. Boase, 10; Iain Fenlon, "Lepanto and the Arts of Celebration," *History Today* 45 (Sept., 1995): 24-30.
81. Chejne, 22-3; P. Chaunu, "Minorités et conjoncture. L'expulsion des Morisques en 1609," *Revue Historique* 225 (1961): 81-98; María Luisa Ledesma, *Los mudéjares en Aragón* (Zaragoza, 1979), 9.
82. David Goldstein, trans., *The Jewish Poets of Spain, 900-1250* (Baltimore MD, 1965), 123.
83. Daniel Katz, "The Functional Approach to the Study of Attitudes," *Public Opinion Quarterly* 24 (1960): 171, 191-92.

Arabs and Latins in the Middle Ages: Enemies, Partners, and Scholars

Alauddin Samarrai

The Mediterranean world and western Asia experienced repeated cultural syntheses throughout much of their history. There was the synthesis of the Amarna Age.¹ There was also the Hellenistic Age, which produced a civilization born out of the interaction between Hellenic and Near Eastern elements. The civilization of the Middle Ages, at least until around A.D. 1300, was born out of a synthesis.

We tend to speak reflexively of Western Civilization and Islamic Civilization as two distinct, and often mutually hostile, entities. "Influences" are, of course, recognized. But the relationship between "Islam" and "Christianism" was more fundamental.²

As a religion, Islam may be viewed as a form of Christian heresy. It was, indeed, viewed as such by some medieval writers. The Greek John of Damascus (d. ca. 752) considered Islam as a Christian heresy. An iconodule, John, whose Arabic family name was al-Mansur, wrote treatises defending image worship. His *De Haeresibus* clearly regards Islam as a form of Christian heresy,³ maintaining that Muhammad received his knowledge about the Old and New Testament "in all likelihood through association with an Arian

monk." It has, in fact, been maintained by some scholars that the Iconoclastic edict of 726, issued by the first iconoclastic Byzantine Emperor Leo III (717–741) was promulgated under the influence of an edict issued (in 721) by the Umayyad Caliph Yazid II (720–724) ordering the removal of all icons from Christian churches in his realm.⁴ But even before 726, Leo III had addressed a letter to the Umayyad Caliph Umar II (717–720), the immediate predecessor of Yazid II, in which he minimizes the role of images, "and one can clearly see the importance of this apologetical attitude towards Islam in the early development of iconoclasm."⁵

Similar views of Islam were held by Peter the Venerable, abbot of Cluny (1122–1156),⁶ who describes Islam to St. Bernard of Clairvaux as "that foremost error of errors, concerning those dregs of all heresies . . ."⁷ Muhammad, according to Peter the Venerable, may be regarded as a "mean" between Arius and the Antichrist, appropriately provided for this purpose by Satan.⁸ The Jews, to prevent Muhammad from becoming a true Christian, provided him with fables rather than the truth of scriptures.⁹

Islam accepts many of the dogmas of Christianity, including the Virgin Birth and the Ascension. Only Mary and Jesus, according to a hadith, were free from the unclean touch of Satan who touches children at birth.¹⁰ It denies, of course, the divine nature of Christ, but Arianism, too, denied His divine nature. Islam, moreover, denies the Crucifixion and the very concept that Christ was the Son of God. But the Felician (or Adoptionist) heresy, suppressed by Charlemagne (in 792 and 794),¹¹ held views on this matter that were perhaps a combination of Arianism and Islamism.

But Islam became a major political and military power very quickly—actually even during the life of Muhammad. The Islamic state came into conflict with the Byzantine Empire almost immediately. Byzantium came, therefore, to represent Christianity, a fact that accounts for the anti-Christian expression in Islam and the reduced interest among Muslims in both Jesus and Mary.

One hundred years after the death of Muhammad, Charles Martel stopped the Muslim advance in central Gaul at the Battle of Tours in 732. Shortly afterwards, the political unity of Islam came to an end with the Abbasid revolution in 750, which coincided, almost exactly, with the coronation of Pepin the Short. The Abbasids never controlled the entire Muslim world. Consequently, a general period of military equilibrium prevailed between Islam and Christian Europe. With only a few exceptions (e.g., the very slow conquest of Sicily by the Aghlabids, and the establishment of the Muslim base at Fraxinetum by, essentially, Muslim pirates), Islamic expansion came to an end before 750. The Christian European counterattack, culminating in the crusades, must be dated from the destruction of Provencal Islam that was prompted by the capture of St. Majolus of Cluny in 972.

Then came the Christian campaigns of the eleventh century, which gradually eliminated the Islamic presence in the western Mediterranean before the invasion of the Levant by the crusaders. The Arab historian Ibn al-Athir (1160–1234) regards the crusades precisely in this manner.¹² These military conflicts sometimes obscure the cultural unity of the Mediterranean world across religious frontiers.¹³ I am not speaking simply of occasional borrowings. I am, rather, speaking of borrowings that fit into the borrower's culture without a great deal of tension or adjustment. I do not think that Confucius would have been very useful to Averroës, Maimonides, or St. Thomas Aquinas, and I am not sure that Aristotle would have been meaningful to the emperors of China. But Aristotle preoccupied Averroës, Maimonides, and St. Thomas Aquinas.

On May 30, 1254, a debate took place at Karkorum. Richard Southern calls it "the first world debate in modern history between representatives of East and West."¹⁴ That was in the presence of the Mongolian Khan Mangu.¹⁵ William of Rubruk, dispatched to Mongolia by Louis IX, represented Latin Christianity.¹⁶ The other participants in the debate were Nestorian Christians, Buddhists, and Muslims. William of Rubruk convinced the Nestorians (who wanted to attack the Muslims first) to make an alliance with the Muslims against the Buddhists, because he understood the common points of agreement between the Christians and Muslims. The first encounter, therefore, was between the Latins, Nestorians, and Muslims against the Buddhists.¹⁷

Nevertheless, it is of course true that medieval polemicists sometimes exhibited strange ignorance of Islam by European Christians and of Christianity by Muslims, although the Muslims were less egregious in that than the Europeans. But in both cases one must remember that such polemics were usually akin to wartime propaganda. It is difficult to imagine that educated Christians really believed that Muhammad was devoured by dogs or pigs, leaving nothing of him but his heels.¹⁸ But Muslim writers also engaged in anti-Christian polemics. Appellations such as *kuffar* or *kafirun* (infidels) and *mushrikun* (polytheists) were sometimes applied by Muslims to European or Byzantine Christians. Celebrating the sack of the Byzantine city of Amorium in 838 by the Abbasid Caliph al-Mu'tasim (reigned 833–42), the poet Abu-Tammam (805–845) describes the Caliph's victory in these terms: "You have left the fortunes of the sons of Islam in the ascendant, and the polytheists and the abode of polytheism in decline."¹⁹ But Abu-Tammam was himself the son of a Christian from Damascus! Yet, nothing in Islamic anti-Christian polemics compares to the *Song of Roland's* ignorant attribution to Islam of the three gods: Mahomet, Apollyon, and Tervagant.²⁰ Nor should one expect that from the Muslims whose empire was for a long time inhabited mostly by Christians.

The ideas of the propagandists do not reflect the real degree of understanding between Christians and Muslims. In the 1180s the Spanish Muslim Ibn Jubayr visited the crusading states in Syria and marveled at the amity between Franks and Muslims, as well as the trade between the two sides even during the fierce anti-crusading wars of Salah al-Din. He took a Genoese ship from Syria, but was wrecked off the Sicilian shore. The Norman king was William II, whose intervention rescued the passengers from the consequences of the *jus naufragii*. Ibn Jubayr lingered in Sicily—reporting on his observations in Palermo and other cities, with special interest in the welfare of Muslims under Norman rule. The Norman court seemed to Ibn Jubayr more Islamic than Catholic European. Christian women were attired in the manner of Muslim women. The Norman government was tolerant of Muslims, but conversion to Christianity could bring one economic and other advantages. Education in Islamic law could be useful upon conversion to Christianity. The career of a certain Ibn Zur‘ah appalled Ibn Jubayr. A Muslim *faqih* in Palermo, Ibn Zur‘ah was converted to Christianity. His background in jurisprudence helped him to become a canon lawyer.²¹

The unity of the Mediterranean is illustrated by the career of a Pisan diplomat. In 1157, an Egyptian ship sold Pisan citizens in Tunis. The Pisan government issued a protest to Tunis. In a memorandum dated July 10, 1157, the Tunisian government apologized to Pisa, claiming that they had not known that the captives were Pisan citizens. The Pisan ambassador, who carried the letter of protest to Tunis, was the condottiere Abu Tamim Maymun Ibn Guglielmo.²²

From about the twelfth century, the relations between the Islamic and Christian states were regulated by treaties. Those treaties and the diplomatic correspondence they generated, as well as the letters between Christian and Muslim merchants, illustrate a degree of unity and sophistication in understanding each other's sensibilities that one cannot find in relying on the polemics of scholars who were restricted by traditional notions and terminology. In June 1181, the Muslim ruler of the Balearic Islands, Abu Ibrahim Ishaq Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ali, ratified a treaty with the Genoese ambassador Rodoano De Mauro. This was something like a non-aggression pact, with commercial interests in mind. The text starts with a benediction: "In the name of God the Beneficent, the Merciful. May God Bless all the Prophets and Have Peace upon Them." There is no mention of Muhammad or Jesus. The Muslim may think of Muhammad and Jesus among "all the prophets," and the Christian may subtract Jesus and Muhammad from them. This formula, which must have been chosen carefully, is common in these treaties between Christian and Muslim polities.²³

It is now generally accepted that the background of the poetry of the Provençal troubadours was the Hispano-Arabic poetry. The late Dr. A. R. Nykl was convinced that the analogies between the early troubadours' forms of poetry and Arabic poetry "can only be explained by imitation or adaptation, not by independent invention."²⁴

The ideas of fame so prevalent in medieval Arabic literature and in Arabic culture itself began to appear in strikingly similar forms in Renaissance Italy and elsewhere in Europe. This is a theme I elaborated elsewhere.²⁵

Asín y Palacios traces Dante's *Divine Comedy* to the theme of Muhammad's *Mi'raj* (miraculous ascension into Heaven) mentioned in the Qur'an and elaborated by Muslim mystics, such as Ibn Arabi. It is significant that Dante places Avicenna, Averroës, and Salah al-Din in Limbo,²⁶ unlike Muhammad and Ali who inhabit the ninth chasm among the schismatics.²⁷ This, I submit, is not very different from similar attitudes in our own century. Contrast, for example, the Western attitudes toward Adolf Hitler on the one hand, and Marshal Erwin Rommel and the German physicist Werner Heisenberg on the other; or Joseph Stalin vs. Marshal Georgi Zhukov and the Soviet physicist Peter Kapitza.

The influence on Western education of the Graeco-Arabic material that became available in Latin in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries can hardly be exaggerated.²⁸ In this respect, Arabs and Latins shared as their own common heritage not only the genuine heritage of Hellenism, but also one of the most successful of medieval forgeries—the *Sirr al-Asrar*, known in the Latin West as the *Secretum Secretorum*. This is a pseudo-Aristotelian treatise on the conduct of government that appeared first in Arabic, probably in Baghdad in the ninth century A.D. It was supposed to have been written for Alexander by his teacher Aristotle, and it was to have been translated from Greek into Syriac and from Syriac into Arabic by Yohanna (Yahya) Ibn al-Batriq, one of the great Christian translators associated with the Abbasid Caliph al-Ma'mun (reigned 813–833). There is no Greek original, which means that the book was forged in Arabic, but I tend not to associate Yohanna Ibn al-Batriq himself with the forgery.²⁹

The first Latin translation of the *Secretum Secretorum* dates from the twelfth century, followed by other translations, not only in Latin but also into other languages, including Hebrew and a fifteenth century translation into Middle English.

Christian scholars, including St. Thomas Aquinas and Roger Bacon, and Muslim scholars such as Ibn Khaldun, quote and refer to the *Secretum Secretorum*. (Although I must say that Ibn Khaldun was quite suspicious of its Aristotelian authorship.) The influence of the *Secretum Secretorum* on Machiavelli's *Prince* is at least indirect.³⁰

But the Arabs and their Latin contemporaries also shared common views of the world, especially outside the Mediterranean heartland. Those geographical and ethnographic notions derive from common classical origins. Sometimes the vocabulary itself is common.

It is true that Arabic geographical knowledge surpassed that of the classical writers and also that of the medieval Europeans. Their knowledge of Eastern Europe has contributed to the reconstruction of medieval Russian history and to the Normanist—anti-Normanist debate on the origin of the Rus.³¹ Nevertheless, Arab physical geography is essentially Greek, particularly Ptolemaic. Arabic geographical terminology is Greek: the Ocean is *Okeanos*; the Black Sea is *Pontus*; the Sea of Azov is *Maeotis*—and this is the vocabulary of the Latin writers as well. Geographical and ethnographic mythology also includes notions, derived from classical antiquity, by both the Latin and the Arabic writers of the Middle Ages.

Gog and Magog occupied important places in medieval mythological geography and ethnography. Their origin is biblical and also Qur'anic. In the Near Eastern sources, Gog and Magog were associated with the mythical adventures of Alexander, and they were identified frequently with the *Phanessii* of the Latin sources, who cover themselves with their huge ears.³² Some Latin writers identified Gog and Magog with the Huns or, partly on phonetic grounds, with the Goths.³³

Similarly, the concept of the martial Amazons was prominent in mythological ethnography in both the Latin and the Arabic sources of the Middle Ages.³⁴ Other monstrous nations, such as the Arimaspi, i.e., the one-eyed griffin fighters mentioned by Herodotus³⁵ and Pliny,³⁶ appear in the Arabic sources. Al-Qazwini (thirteenth century) mentions the short (one cubit in height) one-eyed griffin fighters who, unlike the classical Arimaspians, do not inhabit northern Europe, but some islands of Zanj.³⁷

Associated with mythological and monstrous nations are mythological geographical ideas—shared by the Latin and Arabic writers. The concept of Thule as the end of civilization in the North is held by Arab and Latin geographers. The Arab cosmographer al-Dimashqi (d.1327) speaks of the “Island of Rifa’ah” in the extreme Northeast, along with Thule. This “Rifa’ah” corresponds to the mythical Rhiphaean Mountains mentioned by the eleventh-century German ecclesiastical official Adam of Bremen.³⁸ Roger Bacon in the thirteenth century identifies the Rhiphaean Mountains as the source of the Tanais (Don) River in the extreme North.³⁹

In conclusion, the civilizations of medieval Islam and Latin Christianity share common roots in religion and culture. That they were often unaware of what they had in common is true, but that is a different subject altogether. Neither the culture of Latin Europe, nor that of medieval Islam would have been possible without classical antiquity and the religion of Israel.

Notes

1. In the Amarna age, see Cyrus H. Gordon, *The Common Background of Greek and Hebrew Civilizations* (New York, 1965).
2. See the important book by Maria Rosa Menocal, *The Arabic Role in Medieval Literary History: A Forgotten Heritage* (Philadelphia, 1987).
3. R. W. Southern, *Western Views of Islam in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, Mass., 1962), 38. See also Norman Daniel, *Islam and the West* (Edinburgh, 1962), 184–88. Daniel J. Sahs, *John of Damascus on Islam* (Leyden, 1972); John Meyendorff, "Byzantine Views of Islam," in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 18 (1964): 113–32, esp. 116, 19; see an English trans. of the section on Islam in the *De Haeresibus* (ch. 101) by John W. Voorhis, "John of Damascus on the Moslem Heresy," *The Moslem World* 24:4 (October 1934), pp. 391–398. Frank Hugh Foster, "Is Islam a Christian Heresy?" *The Moslem World* 22:2 (April 1932): 126–33, lists ten Islamic doctrines that "are enough to justify our title, that Mohammedanism is an heretical Christianity." (Emphasis by Foster). David S. Margoliouth, "Is Islam a Christian Heresy?" *The Moslem World* 23:1 (Jan. 1933): 6–15 rejects Foster's conclusion and maintains, instead, that Islam might be regarded as a Jewish heresy.
4. Sahs, *John of Damascus on Islam*, 9 ff., 85.
5. Meyendorff, "Byzantine Views," 127. Some scholars, however, interpret Leo III's letter to Umar II as showing "positive attitude toward the veneration of the icons," rather than precursor of iconoclasm. (Sahs, *John of Damascus*, 44, n. 3).
6. Southern, *Western Views of Islam*, p. 38; Daniel, *Islam and the West*, 184–88.
7. James Kritzeck, *Peter the Venerable and Islam* (Princeton, 1964), 141.
8. Kritzeck, *Peter the Venerable*, 145.
9. Kritzeck, *Peter the Venerable*, 131.
10. The Hadith is quoted from al-Bukhari in Jacques Jomier, O.P., *The Bible and the Koran* (Chicago, 1959), 81: "Abu Huraira says: I heard the messenger of God say: No descendant of Adam is born but that Satan touches him at his birth, except Mary and her son Jesus."
11. C. W. Previté-Orton, *The Shorter Cambridge Medieval History*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1962), vol. 1:313.
12. *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades: Historiens Orientaux*, I (Paris, 1872; repub. by Gregg Press Ltd., 1967), 189–190.
13. On the unity of the Mediterranean, see S. D. Goitein, "The Unity of the Mediterranean World in the 'Middle' Middle Ages," in *Studies in Islamic History and Institutions* (Leyden, 1968), 296–307.
14. Southern, *Western Views of Islam*, 47–52.
15. Christopher Dawson, ed., *Missions to Asia* (New York, 1955), 187–194.
16. Southern, *Western Views of Islam*, 48.
17. Southern, *Western Views of Islam*, 51.
18. Dana Carleton Munro, "The Western Attitudes Toward Islam During the Period of the Crusades," *Speculum* 6 (1931): 329–43.
19. In A. J. Arberry, *Arabic Poetry* (Cambridge, 1965), 56.

20. "Apollyon" seems to be a corruption of "Allah" and "Tervagant" is perhaps a corruption of "Tariq," the Muslim conqueror of Visigothic Spain in 711.
21. *Travels of Ibn Jubayr*, ed. by William Wright, 2d rev. ed. by M. J. de Geoe (Leyden, 1907), 287–333. See Alauddin Samarrai, "Medieval Commerce and Diplomacy: Islam and Europe, A.D. 850–1300," *Canadian Journal of History* 15:1 (April, 1980): 1–21 (esp. 19–20); also, Alauddin Samarrai, "Some Geographical and Political Information on Western Europe in the Medieval Arabic Sources," *The Muslim World*, 72:4 (October, 1972): 304–22 (esp. 316–19).
22. Michele Amari, *I Diplomi Arabi del R. Archivio Fiorentino* (Florence, 1863), Arabic doc. I, 1–6; Latin Doc. VI, 255–256.
23. Michele Amari, "Nuovi ricordi arabici su la storia di Genova," in *Atti della Societa Ligure di Storia Patria* (Genoa, 1867), doc. I, 1–5 (Arabic text); 593–600 (Italian tr.).
24. A. R. Nykl, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry and Its Relations with Old Provençal Troubadours* (Baltimore, 1946), 379.
25. Alauddin Samarrai, "The Idea of Fame in Medieval Arabic Literature and Its Renaissance Parallels," *Comparative Literature Studies* 16 (1979): 279–93.
26. *Inferno* IV, 129, 143–144, see Southern, *Western Views of Islam*, 55–56 and notes 17 and 18.
27. *Inferno*, XXVIII, 23ff.
28. Southern, *Western Views of Islam*, 54.
29. On *Sirr al-Asrar*, see Abdurrahman Badawi's edition, *Fontes Graecae Doctrinarum Politicarum Islamicarum* (Cairo, 1954). A Latin version was edited with glosses by Roger Bacon, *Opera Hactenus Inedita Rogeri Baconi*, V (*Secretum Secretorum*), ed. Robert Steele (Oxford, 1920). Allan H. Gilbert, "Notes on the Influence of the *Secretum Secretorum*," in *Speculum* 3 (1928), 84–98, examines the influence of this work on the West. See the lengthy study by M. Manzalaoui, "The Pseudo-Aristotelian *Kitab Sirr al-Asrar*. Facts and Problems," *Oriens*, vols. 23–24 (1974): 147–257.
30. Allan H. Gilbert, *Machiavelli's Prince and Its Foreunners* (1938; rpt. New York, 1968), 88–89.
31. Ibn Khurdadhbih wrote (846) his *al-Masalik wal-Mamalik* in which he describes the Rus merchants. See *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, VI (Leyden, 1889, rep. 1967), 154–55.
32. For example the thirteenth-century Hereford *mappamundi* includes the *Phanesii*. See Jane Acomb Leake, *The Geats of Beowulf: A Study in the Geographical Mythology of the Middle Ages* (Madison, 1967), 89. Dicuil (ninth century) also mentions creatures who cover themselves with their large ears. "*Aliae*, in quibus nuda corpora praegrandes ipsorum aures tota contegunt." *Dicuili Liber de Mensura Orbis Terrae*, ed. J. J. Tierney with contributions by L. Bieler, *Scriptores Latini Hiberniae*, v.6 (Dublin, 1967), 7.21. See Alauddin Samarrai, "Beyond Belief and Reverence: Medieval Mythological Ethnography in the Near East and Europe," *The Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 23 (1993): 19–42.

33. Samarrai, "Mythological Ethnography," deals with this. St. Ambrose and Isidore of Seville (in his *History of the Kings of the Goths, Vandals, and Suevi*) identify Gog and Magog with the Goths.
34. On the Amazons, see Samarrai, "Mythological Ethnography."
35. On the Arimaspi, see Herodotus, 3.116, 4.13, 4.27.
36. Pliny, *Natural History*, 7.2.10.
37. Al-Qazwini, *'Aja'ib al-Makhlūqat wa-Ghara'ib al-Mawjudat*, ed. Farouk Saad (Beirut, A.H. 1401/A.D. 1981.), 492.
38. Adam of Bremen, *History of the Archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen*, trans. Francis J. Tschan (New York, 1959), 4.20.
39. Roger Bacon, *Opus Majus*, I:377 (English), I:360 (Latin).

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Islam in the *Glossa Ordinaria*

Ernest Kaulbach

Some background information will help to clarify what is meant by “Islam in the *Glossa Ordinaria*,” or the presence of Islamic doctrine in medieval Christian commentary on the Bible.¹ The time is 1220–1240. The place is the University of Paris. The circumstances are as follows. By 1220, the Parisian Masters of Theology had been reading the Qur’an in Latin for some 70 years.² For the same period of time, they had lectured on Arabic interpretations of Aristotle’s works, translated from Arabic into Latin.³ And almost for the same period of time, they were adopting Peter Lombard’s *Sentences* as the primary textbook for the study of theology.⁴ By 1210,⁵ when Arabic interpretations of Aristotle were brought to bear upon theological questions in the *Sentences*, the interpretations were becoming so sanctioned or censured that references to Islamic thought in the works of the Parisian Masters of Theology were and are difficult to recognize.

Despite theological censure, at least three of the Parisian Masters continued to use Arabic-Aristotelian science in their interpretations of the *Sentences*. Phillip the Chancellor, Alexander of Hales, and Jean de la Rochelle used the new physiology to explicate Deut. 6:5: “Diliges Dominum Deum tuum ex toto corde tuo, et ex anima tua, et ex tota fortitudine tua (You shall love the Lord your God with your whole heart, your whole soul, and your whole strength),” with the change of “strength” to “mind.” “Heart-soul-mind” was considered a triunity, as three separate functions of the one

human soul. The new Arabic-Aristotelian science permitted the Masters to interpret the triunity as three different physiologies or “motions” of the soul (Greek “*physis*” translates into the Latin “motion”). Each human being “moves” himself/herself by vegetable functions (“soul”), by animal functions (“heart”), and by rational functions (“mind”). If a person “moved” his/her “heart-soul-mind” in moral unison, he/she could be said to “love God.” “God” was understood to be the Source of all motion, the “Prime Mover” of the physiology. The person’s “love” of God was interpreted to mean that his or her moral “good” was, as it were, a magnetic attraction toward God as the “Highest Good.” Such a physiology of Deut. 6:5 explicated distinction 27 of the Book 3 of *Sentences*,⁶ entitled “De caritate qua diligitur Deus et proximus, quae in Christo et in nobis est (On the Charity, Whereby God and neighbor are loved, a Charity in Christ and in us).” Charity was conceived to be a higher love, since charity belonged both to Christ and to man. The three Masters followed the method of Peter Lombard’s theologizing. The major premise is this: “*caritas est dilectio*” (charity is love). The minor is this: “*dilectio*” is common to both “*caritas*” and to Deut. 6:5. The conclusion follows: “*caritas*” is shared both by Christ and us.

“Islam in the *Glossa Ordinaria*” means that, in distinction 27 of the Book 3 of *Sentences*, Phillip the Chancellor and Alexander of Hales add to the *Glossa Ordinaria* on Deut. 6:5 the suggestion that anyone who loves the Lord with an Arabic-Aristotelian triunity (spirit-heart-soul) has charity. A simple change in the theological gloss of Deut. 6:5, from the triunity “*cor-mens-anima* (heart-mind-soul)” to the triunity “*spiritus-cor-anima* (spirit-heart-soul),” makes Christian theology more consonant with Arabic-Aristotelian science. An Islamic triunity (spirit-heart-soul) creeps into the *Glossa Ordinaria* on Deut. 6:5, when the Franciscan Master, Alexander of Hales, introduces Peter Lombard’s *Sentences* into the theological curriculum at the University of Paris in the 1230s.⁷

The creeping begins with Phillip the Chancellor’s use of the gloss in distinction 27, continues with Alexander of Hales’s use of the same gloss in his distinction 27, and concludes when Alexander of Hales’s compeer and colleague, Jean de la Rochelle, adds an Avicennan triunity to the gloss in distinction 27.

The Gloss on Deut. 6:5 in Distinction 27.

Peter Lombard instances Deut. 6:5 to prove that charity is common to Christ and to us:

De caritate qua diligitur Deus et proximus, quae in Christo et in nobis est . . .
Caritas est dilectio qua diligitur Deus propter se, et proximus propter Deum

vel in Deo . . . Haec [caritas] habet duo mandata . . . Primum est: *Diliges Deum ex toto corde, ex tota mente, ex tota anima*, quod scriptum est in Deuteronomio (About the Charity, Whereby God and neighbor are loved, a Charity in Christ and in us . . . Charity is the love by which God is loved on account of Himself, and the neighbor on account of God or in God . . . This charity has two commandments . . . The first: "You shall love the Lord with your whole heart, with your whole mind, with your whole soul," the commandment written in Deuteronomy).⁸

The Vulgate text of Deut. 6:5 reads "Diliges Dominum Deum tuum ex toto corde tuo et ex tota anima tua et ex tota fortitudine tua (You shall love the Lord God with your whole heart and your whole soul and your whole strength)," the final word being "strength" and not "soul." In distinction 27, the text instanced is Matthew 22:37, "Diliges Dominum Deum tuum ex toto corde tuo, et in tota anima tua and in tota menta tua" (heart-soul-mind), with "anima" and "mente" reversed.⁹

That is, Peter Lombard quotes not from the Vulgate text but from the glosses surrounding the text of Deut. 6:5 (the marginal *Glossa Ordinaria*). Supposedly Deut. 6:5, the text instanced, is really the gloss of Matthew 22:37 attributed to Augustine, "sed toto corde, tota anima, tota mente diligitur Deus (but with the whole heart, the whole soul, the whole mind is God loved)."¹⁰ To this triunity "heart-soul-mind," he adds another triunity from Augustine's explanation of Rm. 13:9: "*ex tota corde*, id est ex toto intellectu; *ex tota anima*, id est ex voluntate; *ex tota mente*, id est memoria (from your whole heart, i.e., your whole intellect; from your whole soul, i.e., from your will; from your whole memory, i.e., from your mind)."¹¹ Augustine's traditional triunity "memory-intellect-will" refers to the image of the Trinity of Persons in God imprinted in man at creation (the gloss on Genesis 1:26). "Memory-intellect-will" is the so-called "higher Trinity of God in man," but distinction 27 is a discussion of practical charity not the creation of Charity. For the second "command" of Charity is to "love your neighbor as yourself." Distinction 27 reaches the conclusion that the practical triunity "heart-soul-mind" is more necessary to the virtue of charity than the speculative triunity "memory-intellect-will."¹² The relationship of one triune—"memory-intellect-will"—to the other triune—"heart-soul-mind"—is left hanging.

Phillip the Chancellor's Use of Distinction 27

In the decades between 1220 and 1240, some 70 years after Peter Lombard, and 20 years into the polemics between the Muslim interpretations of Aristotle and Christian interpretations of Aristotle, at the same place—the University of Paris—and on the same text—"De caritate qua diligitur

Deus et proximus, quae in Christo et in nobis est”—Phillip the Chancellor introduced the new Arabic-Aristotelian science into his *Summa de bono* (Summa on the Good). When Phillip borrows from distinction 27 of Book 3 of the *Sentences*, he dutifully repeats Augustine’s triunity “memory-intellect-will” but intensely discusses the Lombard’s practical triunity “cor-anima-mens (heart-soul-mind)”:

Diliges Dominum, Deum tuum, ex toto corde tuo etc., illa tria ponuntur, ut significetur trinitas in essentia anime, secundum quam est imago Trinitatis increate, et ab ea ut sic est procedat motus caritatis. Idem enim supponitur per mentem et animam et cor, sed sub ratione differenti; mens enim dicitur respectu memorie, que est cognitionis conservatio, cor vero respectu motus, anima respectu vitae (“You shall love the Lord, your God, with your whole heart,” etc. These three are posited to refer to the trinity in the essence of the soul, accordingly as the soul is the image of the Uncreated Trinity, and so that the motion of charity proceeds from the soul as it is [in that image]. The same [notion] is supposed by “mind-soul-heart” but under a different rationale. “Mind” is said with reference to “memory” which conserves knowledge; with reference to “heart” which conserves “motion;” with reference to “soul” which conserves “life”).¹³

Phillip thinks of charity as a “motus,” literally a “motion” stemming from a physiology, a moral and divine physiology, if you will. If the triune God is one God and three Persons, then God is the well-known “Unmoved Mover” and yet the Mover of three types of motion: motion in the memory, motion in the heart, motion in life itself. Augustine’s traditional triunity is now understood in terms of Aristotelian physics interpreted by Avicenna.¹⁴ Human memory, a conserver of knowledge, is the image of the Father, human heart is the image of the Son, human life is the Spirit. The three physiologies proceed, as it were, from one “motion.”

In the next sentence of his commentary, Phillip changes the order of the triunity to “vita-mens-cor (life-mind-heart)” and introduces still two more triunities different from Augustine’s triunity “memory-intellect-will:”

Et tunc e contrario ordinantur; vita enim primum que Patri comparatur, mens secundum in qua cognitio que Filio, comparatur, et motus a corde tertium que Spiritui Sancto, coaptatur. Vel idem servetur ordo: cor ad vitam referri potest, mens ad cognitionem et anima que idem est quod animus ad motum. Aliter autem exponitur in Glosa. (And then they [the members of the triunity] are arranged in the opposite order. First is “Life” which is matched with the Father. Second is “mind,” where knowledge is arranged with the Son. The third is motion from the heart, which is fitted to the Holy Spirit. Or the same [previous] arrangement may be retained: “heart” can refer to life, “mind” to

knowledge, and “soul”—the same as “animus”—to motion, even though the Gloss has a different explanation).¹⁵

Aristotle’s concept of “motion” removes this triunity even more from Augustine’s “memory-intellect-will.”

Phillip’s next sentence introduces a purely physiological triunity, on the grounds that the physiology comes from the marginal *Glossa Ordinaria* on Deut. 6:5, “Triplicis naturae est anima, ideo iubetur diligere tripliciter (The soul is of a triune nature, and so is commanded to love triply).” Phillip adds:

Item, cum tres sint vires sive potentiae anime, scilicet vegetabilis, sensibilis, rationalis, vegetabilis pertinet ad animam, sensibilis ad cor, rationalis ad mentem [It is expounded otherwise in the *Glossa*.] Likewise, since there are three powers or faculties of the soul, namely the vegetative, sensitive [and] rational, the vegetative pertains to the soul, the sensitive to the heart, [and] the rational to the mind).¹⁶

The interlinear gloss of Deut. 6:5 (the gloss written in-between the lines of the Vulgate text of Deut. 6:5) gives only the interpretation of the followers of Augustine:

Ex toto corde tuo [superscript: intellectu], et ex tota anima tua [superscript: vita], et ex tota fortitudine tua [superscript: viribus vel affectu] (with your whole heart [intellect], with your whole soul [life], and with your whole strength [powers or affect]).

The marginal gloss of Deut. 6:5 is restricted only to the words: “Triplicis naturae est anima, ideo iubetur diligere tripliciter (The soul is of a triple nature; and so is commanded to love triply).” Phillip adds to the marginal gloss. And again, he draws from Avicenna’s interpretation of Aristotle. Avicenna’s *On the Soul*, drawing from Aristotle’s teachings, says that the human soul is defined by three functions:

Dicemus igitur quod vires animales primo dividuntur in tres partes. Una est anima vegetabilis . . . Secunda est anima sensibilis . . . Tertia est anima humana (We will, therefore say that the powers of the soul are first divided into three sections. One is the vegetable soul . . . The second is the sensible soul . . . The third is the human soul).¹⁷

Avicenna’s quotations of Aristotle are so numerous that the editor of the *Summa de bono* suspects that Phillip became acquainted with Aristotle by way of Avicenna.¹⁸ We see Phillip the Chancellor introducing Arabic-Aristotelian

science into the *Glossa Ordinaria*, by way of making the theology of distinction 27 more physiological and practical.

Alexander of Hales's Use of Distinction 27

In his commentary on distinction 27, Alexander of Hales picks up on a sentence from Phillip the Chancellor's expansion of Deut. 6:5:

Vel idem servetur ordo: cor ad vitam referri potest, mens ad cognitionem et anima que idem est quod animus ad motum. Dicit enim Isidorus quod animus est principium motuum et desideriorum (Or let the same order be kept: "heart" can refer to life, "mind" to knowledge, and soul—the same as the word "animus"—to motion. For Isidore [of Seville] says that "animus" is the source of motions and desires).¹⁹

Alexander's commentary on distinction 27 neatly fits Augustine's higher triunity "memory-intellect-will" into the very passage where Phillip quotes from Isidore of Seville (*The Etymologies*, bk. 11, ch. 2, paragraph 13):

Caritas est dilectio etc. Super finem Exodi Isidorus: "Spiritus dicitur 'mens' ab eo quod est meminisse; et dicitur 'cor' prout est principium motus; et 'anima' prout vivificatur ab ipsa." Unde ista sunt duo trina, ut dicit Augustinus [De Trin, X, ch.11, no.18]: mens intelligentia voluntas (Charity is the love, and so forth. Isidore at the end of Exodus: "Spirit is called 'mind' because it remembers, and is called 'heart' because it is the beginning of physiology, and is called 'soul' because it lives by means of soul." Whence, these are two triunities, according to Augustine).²⁰

Instead of "mens," we read "spiritus." Instead of "mens-cor-anima," we read "spiritus-cor-anima," so that "spirit-heart-soul" is the lower triune correlative to Augustine's higher triune, "mind-intelligence-will." Alexander does not replace the gloss on Deut. 6:5 with the gloss of Exodus 40:16. He adds the gloss of Exodus 40:16 onto the gloss of Deut. 6:5, because the gloss is attributed to Isidore of Seville and used by Peter the Chancellor to introduce the Arabic-Aristotelian science into the *Sentences*.

We see the effect of the addition some 60 lines into the same commentary on distinction 27. Alexander quotes the marginal gloss on Deut 6:5, but changes Peter Lombard's "heart-soul-mind" to a triune spirit, "sensible, rational, vegetable:"²¹

Super 6 Deut., 5: Anima est triplicis naturae, et ideo praecipitur diligere Deum tripliciter, "scilicet ex toto corde tuo et ex tota anima tua etc." Quidam tamen exponunt, scilicet penes vegetabilem, sensibilem, rationalem

potentiam . . . Unde ex corde quantum ad sensibilem, ex mente quantum ad rationalem, ex anima quantum ad vegetabilem (The Gloss on Deut. 6:5: the soul is of a triple nature, and so is commanded to love God triply, namely “with your whole heart and your whole soul,” etc. Some [commentators] explain the triune nature with reference to the vegetable, sensitive and rational powers [in the soul] . . . Hence, “with the heart” refers to the sensitive soul; “with the mind” refers to the rational soul; “with the soul” refers to the vegetable soul).

Alexander of Hales continues to use Arabic-Aristotelian science, by quoting the very passage where Phillip adds Avicennan physiology to the *Glossa*.

Alexander of Hales’s interpretation of the *Glossa* on Deut. 6:5 is not Peter Lombard’s *Glossa*. The editors of Alexander of Hales’s commentary refer us to Nicolas of Lyra’s *Glossa* as the source for this quotation. The reference is not helpful. Nicolas’s *Glossa* was written at least 40 years after Alexander of Hales’s commentary. Moreover, Nicolas of Lyra’s *Glossa* attributes “super finem Exodi” not to Isidore of Seville but to Bede, and keeps the word “fortitudine” instead of “mente.”²² It is more likely that Alexander merely repeats the words of Phillip the Chancellor:

Item, cum tres sint vires sive potentie anime scilicet vegetabilis, sensibilis, rationalis, vegetabilis pertinet ad animam, sensibilis ad cor, rationalis ad mentem (Also, since the powers or faculties of the soul are three, namely the vegetable, sensible and rational, the vegetable pertains to the soul, the sensible to the heart, and the rational to the mind).²³

Why does Alexander of Hales refer to Isidore of Seville “super finem Exodi?” What does the triune (“spiritus-cor-mens”) and Isidore’s new-found home in the *Glossa* on Exodus have to do with Islam? The answers to these questions explain “Islam in the *Glossa Ordinaria*.”

Jean de la Rochelle’s Use of Distinction 27

Jean de la Rochelle, Alexander of Hales’s compeer, fellow Franciscan and coauthor of the commentary on the *Sentences*, shows us how Islam creeps into the *Glossa Ordinaria*. Sometime after 1236, Jean de la Rochelle composed a work attempting to reconcile the psychologies of Augustine, John of Damascus, and Avicenna. It has come down to us with the title *Tractatus de divisione multiplici potentiarum animae*.²⁴ In the discussion of the virtue of charity, Jean quotes distinction 27 of Book 3 of the *Sentences*, “Caritas est dilectio qua diligitur” and gives us the context for Alexander of Hales’s commentary on distinction 27:

Item Magister in libro *Sententiarum* tertio: "Caritas est dilectio, qua diligitur Deus propter se, proximus propter Deum." Item Apostolus, I Tim. i.: "Finis precepti est caritas de corde puro, conscientia bona et fide non ficta . . ." Fides ordinat animam secundum superiorem eius faciem quantum ad potentiam rationalem motivam in Deum prima [*sic*] veritatem; caritas autem ordinat eam quantum ad concupiscibilem potentiam in Deum summam bonitatem (Also, the Master in the Third Book of the *Sentences*: "Charity is the Love, by Whom God is loved for Himself and neighbor for God." Also, The Apostle [Paul], in I Tim., ch.1: "The purpose of the command is charity with a pure heart, a good conscience and non-fraudulent faith . . ." Faith sets the higher face of the soul in order, moving the rational power of the toward God the First Truth. Charity, for its part, sets the higher face of the soul in order, [moving] the concupiscible power to God the Highest Good).²⁵

The expressions "lower face" and "higher face" set the context for Alexander of Hales' notion that there are two triunities: the lower triunity "spirit-heart-soul," and the higher triunity "mind-intelligence-will." Jean derives the "faces of the soul" from the *Liber de anima* of Avicenna, whose psychology Jean quotes extensively, almost always in parallel with Augustine:

Tamquam anima nostra habeat duas facies, faciem scilicet deorsum ad corpus . . . et aliam faciem sursum . . . Ex eo autem quod est infra eam, generantur mores, sed ex eo quod est supra eam, generantur sapientiae . . . (As if our soul should have two faces, one [looking] down to the body . . . and the second face [looking] upward . . . Out of the stuff which is within anima [the soul in the body] are begotten morals. Out of the stuff which is above anima are begotten wisdoms).²⁶

Jean applies the higher face to the acts of the higher triunity (called the "theological virtues"—faith, hope charity), and the lower face to the acts of the lower triunity (called the "cardinal virtues"—prudence, justice, temperance, fortitude):

Quae [virtutes] diuiduntur secundum duplicem faciem anime siue comparisonem in theologicas et cardinales [virtutes]. Theologice enim ordinant hominem ad Deum, cardinales ad hominem. Theologice [virtutes] vero sunt tres secundum tres vires [anime] (And the virtues are divided according to the two faces of the soul or according to the relationship of the theological virtues to the cardinal virtues. The theological [virtues] set a person in a path toward God, the cardinal virtues, toward other persons. The theological virtues are three according to the three powers of the soul).²⁷

All this creeping accommodates the psychology of Avicenna to the psychology of Augustine. The higher face or triunity is Augustine's "memory-

intellect-will.” The lower triunity is Avicenna’s “spiritus-cor-anima (spirit-heart-soul):”

Sicut dicit Avicenna . . . triplex est spiritus: spiritus naturalis, vitalis et animalis, quemadmodum Johannitius dicit—naturalis spiritus sumit principium ab epate, vitalis a corde, animalis a cerebro; . . . Spiritus triplex est, naturalis, vitalis et animalis (As Avicenna says . . . the spirit is triune: a natural spirit, a vital spirit and an animal spirit, as Johannitius says—the natural spirit originates in the liver, the vital in the heart, the animal in the brain; . . . The Spirit is triune, natural, vital, animal).²⁸

As a consequence of Jean de la Rochelle’s accommodation of Avicenna to Augustine, Avicenna’s lower trine “spiritus-cor-anima” (spirit-heart-soul) becomes hidden in pseudo-Augustine’s *De spiritu et anima*, a work also attributed to Bede (in the *Glossa Ordinaria* on Exodus 40:16) or to Isidore of Seville (in Alexander of Hales’s commentary on distinction 27):

Beda. Sic Anima pro diversis actionibus diversa nomina sortitur. Dum vivificat corpus anima dicitur; dum vult, animus est; dum scit, mens est; dum recolit, memoria est; dum iudicat, ratio est; dum spirat spiritus est; dum sentit, sensus est (Bede. So Anima distributes its names for its various actions. When Anima vivifies the body, it is called “anima;” when Anima wishes, it is called “animus;” when it knows, it is called “mens;” when it recalls, it is called “memory;” when it judges, it is called “reason;” when it breathes, it is called “spirit;” when it senses, Anima is called “sense”).²⁹

In short, Avicenna’s lower triunity “spirit-heart-soul” is read into the *Glossa Ordinaria* by way of pseudo-Augustine’s *De spiritu et anima* attributed to Bede.

Why all of this theological chicanery? Because of the condemnations of Aristotle and Avicenna. The traditional psychology of Augustine conceals the newer, scientific, and therefore suspect physiology of Aristotle and Avicenna. Why would Franciscan Masters of Theology continue to teach the suspect physiology in the face of censorship? The last chapter of the Rule of St. Francis counsels certain of the friars to live and preach in the Middle East:

XII—De euntibus inter saracenos et alios infideles

Quicumque fratrum divina inspiratione voluerint ire inter saracenos et alios infideles petant inde licentiam a suis ministris provincialibus. Ministri vero nullis licentiam tribuant, nisi eis quos viderint esse idoneos ad mittendum (Should any of the friars choose, by divine inspiration, to go among the Saracens and other infidels, let him petition his Provincial for permission. The Provincials are to grant the permission only to those [friars] whom they see fit to send on the mission).³⁰

Inspired by Divine Charity, certain of the Franciscan friars chose to live and preach in the Middle East. Divine Charity is, of course "The Charity, Whereby God and neighbor are loved, a Charity in Christ and in us," the Charity discussed in distinction 27 of the Third Book of *Sentences*. Islam creeps into this "Charity" by way of expansion of the *Glossa Ordinaria* on Deut. 6:5, repeated in Matthew 22:37: "You shall love the Lord your God with your whole spirit, your whole heart, your whole soul, and your neighbor as yourself." Friars practice and preach this law to Muslims and Jews and Eastern Christians in the Middle East.

The Franciscan Masters seem to think that, even if Western Christians cannot share the same beliefs with Eastern Christians, Muslims, and Jews, they can at least share the same "physiology." If every Christian, Jew, and Muslim is physiologically "moved" by the same lower triunity—the same spirit—the same heart—the same soul—then every human being shares the same "physiology" with which to practice the love of God and neighbor. Arabic-Aristotelian "physiology" would seem to promote peace instead of crusades and dialogue instead of diatribe.

Difficult Recognitions

Why would three Parisian Masters try to make Avicennan triunities congruent with Augustinian triunities? The first and most obvious answer is that they are trying to make theological investigation more "scientific," i.e., to introduce Arabic-Aristotelian "science" into Christian Theology, previously dominated by the writings of St. Augustine.³¹ A second and less obvious answer is that Franciscans are trying to use the "science" to make converts to Christianity. If Franciscans are going to preach to Jews and Saracens in the Middle East, they would need a "science" common to them and to the peoples to whom they preach. If all men "love" the Lord their God with their "whole heart" and their "whole soul," then clearly Muslims and Jews share the same physiology with Christians. The triune physiology would offer a simple paradigm for the belief in a triune God.

A third rationale, logically plausible, theologically outrageous, and difficult to recognize, is suggested by a complex poem composed some 150 years after the commentaries of the three Parisian Masters: the "B-text" of *Piers Plowman*.³² According to the B-text of *Piers Plowman*, the Franciscan gloss on Deut. 6:5 could well imply that any Christian, Muslim, Jew, or Gentile who loves the Lord with whole spirit, whole heart, and whole soul has either the Holy Spirit or the grace of God. Thus, the Christian charity, identified with the Arabic-Aristotelian physiology in the *Glossa* on Deut. 6:5 and Matthew 22:37, would be common to Christians, Jews, Muslims, and nonbelievers.

In Chapter 17 of the B-text (l.12), the main character Will (who onomastically “wills” to practice degrees of the Good and True) is shown by Spes (Hope) a “piece of hard rock” on which is written Deut. 6:5 and Matthew 22:37:

Dilige deum & proximum tuum (Love the [lord your] god . . . and your neighbor [as yourself],

which Spes glosses (17, ll.18–21)

‘Whoso wercheþ after þis/ writ, I wol vndertaken, Shal neuere deuel hym dere ne deep in soule greue; For, þou3 I seye it myself, I haue saued with þis charme

Of men and of wommen many score þousand’ (Whoever works according to this writing, I will assure, the devil shall never injure nor death-in-soul grieve. For, though I say it myself, I have saved with this charm many a score of thousands of men and women).

There is no doubt that “Dilige deum” saves both Christians and Jews, because Will immediately is confused by a contradiction between salvation by belief in the Christian Trinity and salvation by Jewish “Spes” (Hope) in this Law of “Dilige deum” (17, ll.24–45). There is little doubt that this conflict is theologically outrageous, both because Abraham speaks for the Trinitarian belief (in Genesis 18:1–2, where the one Lord visits Abraham in the form of three men) and is opposed by Spes (Hope), who speaks for belief in the One God (in Exodus 20:2–3, where the One Lord allows “no other gods”), and because the confusion is settled by Charity in the form of a Samaritan (a heretic).

In chapter 9, where this trek begins, Will mentally talks to the “lower face” of his soul (“anima”). Wit (Sense) informs him of a lower triunity of powers to practice the lower virtues. The lower triunity, called a “ghost, soule, inwit (spirit-soul-sense),”³³ guides Will to Scripture who commands the command of Deut. 6:5 (B 10, ll.361–62):

loue þi lord god leuest abouen alle, and after alle cristene creatures . . . (Love your Lord dearest above all, and after [Him] all Christian creatures).

At the end of the vision (ch. 12), Will practices the virtues of the lower soul: patience and poverty. In chapter 15, where the same trek reaches a higher plateau, the “higher face” of the same soul is Anima himself, who spends the rest of the chapter inspiring Will to the practice of Charity, out of which comes the argument between the other two theological virtues Faith (represented by Abraham) and Hope (represented by Spes). In chapter 16, Will

sees the three powers of his higher soul helped by the powers of the Triune God (Power, Wisdom, Spirit).

In chapter 15, the lower triunity reemerges as "spirit-soul-sense" in the formula from the *Glossa* on Exodus 40:16 we have seen Alexander of Hales use (B 15, l.39):

Anima pro actionibus diuersa nomina sortitur: dum viuificat corpus anima est; dum vult animus est; dum scit mens est; dum recolit memoria est; dum iudicat ratio est; dum sentit sensus est; dum amat Amor est; dum negat vel consentit consciencia est; dum spirat spiritus est (Anima [the soul distributes his names for his various actions. When Anima vivifies the body, he is called "anima;" when Anima wishes, he is called "animus;" when he knows, he is called "mens;" when he recalls, he is called "memory;" when he judges, he is called "reason;" when he senses, he is called "sensus;" when he loves, he is called "Amor;" when he refuses or consents, he is called "consciencia;" when he breathes, he is called "spirit."

An Avicennan triunity is difficult to recognize in the midst of all these names for the soul. Yet the attribution of the formula to "Austyn and Ysodorus" (Augustine and Isidore) tells us that the irenic spirit of Franciscan theology between 1220 and 1240 still continues in the 1370s. Although difficult to recognize in the several hundred lines of several chapters, Avicennan doctrines do explain some of the unusual psychology and the psychological structure of the latter half of *Piers Plowman*. The formula (the gloss on Exodus 40:16), the two faces of Will's soul, his lower and higher triunes, the relationships of his lower virtues (patience-poverty) to his higher virtues (faith-hope-charity) are difficult to recognize, unless we recognize the centrality of the gloss of Exodus 40:16 to all this psychology.

The theology becomes outrageous at the beginning of chapter 15, where Will asks Anima if "he were cristes creature (he were the creature of Christ)" and Anima responds that he is "cristene in many a place" and well known in "Christ's court." As a proof of his "Christian" origin, Anima translates Isidore's formula, quoted in the gloss on Exodus 40:16, into Middle English, and recites the names by which he is known in Heaven by "Christ's people" (15, ll.23-36):

'The whiles I quykne þe cors', quod he, 'called am I anima, And whan I wilne and wolde *animus* ich hatte' . . .

The *Glossa* here means that any human soul (Anima) in any function is "Christian." As proof of his verity, Anima translates his Middle English formula back into Latin immediately after naming Augustine and Isidore as the authorities for his claim.

If we look at Anima's unusual definition of "Christian" in the context of Isidore of Seville's *Etymologies*, then "Christian" refers not to the sect called "Christianity" but to the persons "anointed with the Holy Spirit:"

Christianus . . . de unctione deducitur, sive de nomine auctoris et creatoris . . . A Christo enim Christiani cognominati . . . Vbi autem nomen secutum fuerit opus, certissime ille est Christianus, quia se factis ostendit Christianum, ambulans sicut et ille ambulavit a quo et nomen traxit ([The name] "Christian" . . . is derived from an anointing, or from the name of the Originator or Creator . . . For Christians are so called from Christ . . . Where the name has followed the deed, most certainly he is a Christian who by his deeds has shown himself to be a Christian, living his life as He lived from Whom he took His name).³⁴

The terms "Christ" and "Christian" refer to the "anointing," and then to the imitation of a way of life. "Christian" does not refer to the belief in the divinity of Jesus Christ as much as it refers to "anointing by the Holy Spirit:"

Christus namque a chrismate est appellatus, hoc est unctus. Praeceptum enim fuerat Iudaeis ut sacrum conficerent unguentum, quo perungui possent hi qui vocabantur ad sacerdotium vel ad regnum . . . Nam chrisma Graece, Latine unctio nuncupatur, quae etiam Domino nomen adcommoavit facta spiritalis, quia Spiritu unctus est a Deo Patre, sicut in Actibus (4,27): "Collecti sunt enim in hac civitate adversus sanctum Filium tuum, quem unxisti": non utique oleo visibili, sed gratiae dono, quod visibili significatur unguento. Non est autem Salvatoris proprium nomen Christus, sed communis nuncupatio potestatis. Dum enim dicitur Christus, commune dignitatis nomen est; dum Iesus Christus, proprium est vocabulum Salvatoris (Christ derives His name from chrism, i.e., anointed. For it was a precept to Jews that they make a holy oil with which they could anoint those called to the priesthood or kingship. In Greek it is named "chrism," in Latin, "ointment." Now a spiritual deed accommodated the name "anointing" to the Lord, because by the Spirit He was anointed by God the Father in the Acts [4:27], "They have been gathered in this city against Your Holy Son Whom You have anointed," not by visible oil but by the gift of grace signified by the visible anointing. The term "Christ" is not proper to the Saviour but is a term applied to anyone in power. When [only] "Christ" is said, it is a term applied to dignity. When "Jesus Christ" is said, then it is a proper term for the Saviour).³⁵

"Christian" is a term of dignity, a term used for many people ("common"). "Christian" is not primarily a term for a sect. Anyone is "Christian" who has the names that Anima has and who practices the Law Anima preaches "Love God and neighbor" (*Diliges deum & proximum*). In *Piers Plowman*, the gloss of Exodus 40:16 refers to those souls who are "anointed with the Holy

Spirit.” Any Christian, Muslim, Jew, or Gentile who loves the Lord with whole spirit, whole heart, whole soul has either the Holy Spirit or the grace of God.

What emerges toward the end of chapter 15 is Will’s higher understanding of Deut. 6:5 and Matthew 22:37, as glossed by the following passage:

For Sar3ens han somwhat semyng to oure bileue, For þei loue and bileue in o [lord] almyghty And we lered and lewed [bileueþ in oon god; Cristene and vncristene on oon god bileueþ (For Saracens have something similar to our belief For they love and belief in one Lord Almighty And we learned and unlearned believe in one God; Christened and unchristened believe in one God).

A few lines later, the “bishop” tells Will to go to the Middle East in the spirit of the Rule of St. Francis (B 15, ll.498–503), and repeats the Law that “bishops” live by (B 15, l.584): “*Dilige deum & proximum*” (Matthew 22:37). At the end of the chapter, Anima even outlines the sermon to be preached to the Saracens, Jews, and Eastern Christians (B 15, ll.605–13):

Ac pharisees and Sar3ens, Scribes and [Grekes]
 Arn folk of oon feiþ; þe fader god þei honouren.
 And siþen þat þe Sar3ens and also þe Iewes
 Konne þe firste clause of oure bileue, *Credo in deum*
patrem omnipotentem,
 Prelates of cristene prouinces sholde preue if þei my3te
 Lete hem litlum and litlum *et in Iesum Christum filium,*
 Til þei kouþe spelke and spelle *et in Spiritum sanctum,*
 Recorden it and rendren] it wiþ *remissionem peccatorem*
Carnis resurrecionem et vitam eternam. amen
 (But Pharisees and Saracens, Scribes and Greeks
 Are people of one faith; they honor God the Father.
 And since the Saracens and the Jews
 Know the first article of our belief,
 “I believe in God the Father Almighty,”
 Prelates in Christian Provinces should attempt to
 Teach them little by little ‘And in Jesus Christ the Son,
 Till the Saracens and Jews know how to speak and recite
 “And in the Holy Spirit,”
 Know how to keep it in their hearts and render it with
 “The remission of sins, the resurrection of the body
 and life everlasting. Amen”).

This would appear to be a sermon converting Jews and Muslims to a belief in the divinity of Jesus Christ, “‘And in Jesus Christ the Son,’” as the article states in the “Apostles’ Creed.”³⁶ In other words, Anima is trying to make

the common word “christ” or “christian” into a more proper word “Jesus Christ” or “Christian who believes in Jesus.” But Anima accepts the outrageous theology that anyone is “christian” who loves God with a whole spirit, a whole heart, and a whole mind. Anima and the *Piers Plowman* poet expound an interpretation of Deut. 6:5 to be found nowhere except in the Franciscan theology between 1220 and 1240.

Notes

1. “Glos(s)a Ordinaria,” *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, vol.2, eds., F. L. Cross and E. A. Livingston (London, 1974), 572.
2. M.-T. d’Alverny, “Deux traductions du Coran au Moyen-Age,” *Archives d’Histoire Doctrinale et Littéraire du Moyen Age* 22–23 (1947–48): 87.
3. Abdurrahman Badawi, *La Transmission de la Philosophie Grecque au Monde Arabe* (Paris, 1987), 75–108.
4. As summarized in “Peter Lombard,” *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, vol.2, 1073, the four books of the *Sentences* expounded controverted theological questions concerning the Trinity (bk.1), the Creation and Fall of Man (bk.2), the Incarnation of Christ, the Virtues and the Decalogue (bk.3), and the Sacraments and the Last Things (bk.4). The paper takes up a controverted question in bk.3, the charity (virtue) of Christ.
Quotations from the *Sentences* are taken from the recent re-edition by the Franciscans in Rome, entitled *Sententiae in IV Libris Distinctae*, Spicilegium Bonaventurianum, IV-V (Rome, 1971–81), 3 vols. The translations from Latin are mine.
5. See the general, historical context in Etienne Gilson, *History of Christian Philosophy in the Middle Ages* (New York, 1955), 238–46, 652–55. Pierre Mandonnet has published the specific censures of Arabic-Aristotelian texts in “Tractatus de erroribus philosophorum Aristotelis, Averrois, Avicennae, Algazelis, Alkindi et Rabbi Moysis,” *Siger de Brabant et l’Averroïsme Latin au XIII^e Siècle*, 2 ed., pt. 2 (Louvain), 3–7, 11–14.
6. *Sententiae III-IV* (Quaracchi, 1981), 2, 162–68.
7. *Sententiae in IV Libris Distinctae, Prolegomena*, 117*–18.*
8. *Sentences*, bk.3, distinction 27, ch.1 (*Sententiae III-IV* [Quaracchi, 1981], 2, 162, ll.3–4).
9. *Sentences*, bk.3, distinction 27, ch.2 (*Sententiae III-IV* [Quaracchi, 1981], 2, 162, notes 2 and 3).
10. “Diliges dominum deum: Aug[ustinus],” *Biblia Latina cum Glossa Ordinaria Walafridi Strabonis et Interlineari Anselmi Laudunensis* (Strassburg, ca. 1480), 4.
11. *Sentences*, bk.3, distinction 27, ch.5 (*Sententiae III-IV* [Quaracchi, 1981], 2, 165, ll.21ff., and note to paragraph 4). Augustine’s words will become Peter Lombard’s commentary on Romans 13:9 (*Patrologia cursus completus series Latina*, ed. J. P. Migne [Paris: J. P. Migne, 1844–55], 191, 1508B).

12. *Sentences*, bk. 3, distinction 27, ch. 6 (*Sententiae III-IV* [Quaracchi, 1981], 2, 166, ll. 20–21). If Peter's discussion of charity were not practical but theoretical, the words "On the Charity" could refer not only to the theological virtue "charity" but also to the Holy Spirit, the Third Person of the Trinity, as the Lombard concludes in *Sentences*, bk.1, distinction 17, ch. 2: "Spiritus Sanctus est caritas qua diligimus Deum et proximum (the Holy Spirit is the Charity Whereby we love God and neighbor)."
- After the time of Peter Lombard, theologians distinguished the virtue charity (called "created grace") from the Third Person of the Trinity (called "uncreated grace"). See Peter of Poitiers's criticism of Peter Lombard and the distinction in bk. 1, ch.31 of his *Sententiae* (*Sententiae Petri Pictaviensis*, ed. Philip S. Moore and Marthe Dulong [Notre Dame, Indiana], 1, xxxii-xxxviii, 268–72).
13. *Philippi Cancellarii Parisiensis Summa de Bono*, ed. Nicolas Wicki, *Corpus Philosophorum Medii Aevi: Opera Philosophica Mediae Aetatis Selecta*, II (Berne, 1985), 687, ll.264–269.
14. Avicenna, *Philosophia prima*, bk. 9, ch. 2–3; ed. as *Liber de philosophia prima sive scientia divina V-X*, by S. van Riet and G. Verbeke (Leiden, 1980), 462, l.43—p.475, l. 77. Avicenna bases his theory of "motion" on Aristotle's *Metaphysics*, bk. 12, chs. 7–8, 1072a18–1072b3, and *On the Heavens*, bk. 2, chs. 7–8, 289a29ff.
15. *Summa de bono*, 687, ll.269–73. The interlinear gloss on Deut. 6:5 has a different explanation. "Intellect" is written above "heart," "life" above "soul," and "powers of the soul or affect" written above "strength."
16. *Summa de bono*, 687, ll.274–76.
17. Avicenna, *Liber de anima seu sextus de naturalibus I-III*, ed. S. van Riet and G. Verbeke (Leiden, 1972), 79–80, ll.4–13. Avicenna interprets Aristotle *On the soul*, bk. 2, ch. 2, 413a, l.22.
18. *Summa de bono*, 4: "On a l'impression que c'est Avicenne qui a introduit le Chancelier dans la pensée d'Aristote."
19. *Summa de bono*, 687, ll.271–4, referring to Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiarum*, bk. 11, ch. 1, paragraphs 11, 13: "Item animum esse quod animam; sed animae vitae est, animus consilii (Likewise, mind is the same as soul; but 'anima' refers to life, 'animus' refers to knowledge)."
20. *Magistri Alexandri de Hales Glossa in Quatuor Libros Sententiarum Petri Lombardi: In Librum Tertium*, Bibliotheca Franciscana Scholastica Medii Aevi, XIV-XV, ed. College of St. Bonaventure at Quaracchi (Rome, 1954), 319, ll.2–7.
21. Alexander of Hales, *Glossa in Librum Tertium*, XIV, 322, ll.3–10.
22. See Nicolas's commentary on Exodus 40:16 in *Biblia cum Glossis Ordinariis, et Interlinearibus . . . simulque cum Expositione Nicolai de Lyra* (Venice, 1495), vol.1; and in *Opus Totius Biblie cum Glosulis tam Marginalibus quam Interlinearibus Ordinariis, Vna cum Venerandi Patris Nicolai de Lyra Postillis . . .* (Basel, 1498), vol.1.
23. *Summa de bono*, 687, ll.274–75. The editors of Alexander's commentary agree (*Glossa in Librum Tertium*, XIV, 322, 319: "Num. 1, : cf. Phil. Can-

cellarius, *Summa de bono*,” and explain in the Prologue to vol. XIV (8*): “sub appellatione ‘quidam’ vel ‘alii,’ ipsae solutiones Alexandri verbotenus a Philippo recitantur, nunquam autem e converso (under the name ‘certain’ or ‘others,’ Alexander’s conclusions are taken word by word from Phillip, but never Phillip from Alexander”).

24. Ed. Pierre Michaud-Quantin (Paris, 1968).
25. Jean de la Rochelle, *Tractatus*, 163, ll. 457–9.
26. Avicenna, *Liber de anima I-III*, 94, ll. 8–14.
27. Jean de la Rochelle, *Tractatus*, 140, ll. 110–15.
28. Jean de la Rochelle, *Tractatus*, 105, l. 51; and 133, l. 164. Jean paraphrases Avicenna’s *Liber de anima seu sextus de naturalibus*, bk. 5, ch. 8, ed. by S. van Riet and G. Verbeke as *Liber de anima seu sextus de naturalibus IV-V*, (Leiden, 1968), 175–79.
29. *Glossa Ordinaria* on Exodus 40:16 (“Erexitque Moyses illud [tabernaculum] and posuit tabulas [And Moses built the tabernacle and put the planks]”). The *Glossa* interprets the “planks” to mean the “Decalogue,” the 10 Commandments summarized in Deut. 6:5.
30. “Regula S. Francisci A. 1223,” ch.12, *Expositio Quatuor Magistrorum Super Regulam Fratrum Minorum (1241–1242)*, ed. P. Livarius Oligier (Rome, 1950), 193. Alexander of Hales and Jean de la Rochelle were two of the four Masters who composed the “Expositio.” Ch. 12 is the only chapter in the entire Rule that was not heatedly controverted, and, therefore, required no “exposition” by the four Masters.
31. Recognized by Etienne Gilson in a famous study, entitled “Les Sources Gréco-Arabes de l’Augustinisme Avicennisant,” *Archives d’Histoire Doctrinale et Littéraire du Moyen Age* 4 (1929): 5–127.
32. Recently re-edited by George Kane and E. Talbot Donaldson as *Piers Plowman: The B Version* (London, 1975), and again by A. V. C. Schmidt as *The Vision of Piers Plowman: A Critical Edition of the B-Text* (London, 1978). Quotations are taken from the Kane-Donaldson edition.
The poet is commonly thought to have revised the “A-text” (first version) into a “B-text” the 1370s, and to have written the revision in an English dialect found in the region of Worcestershire in the Northwest of England. Also, the B-text is commonly thought to have added nine chapters (known as “Passus”) to the 11 chapters of the A-text.
33. *Piers Plowman*, Kane-Donaldson, 9, ll. 47, 51, 54.
34. *Isidori Hispalensis Episcopi Etymologiarum sive Originum Libri XX Etymologiarum*, ed. W. M. Lindsay (Oxford, 1962), bk. 7, ch. 14, paragraphs 1–4.
35. *Etymologiarum*, bk. 7, ch. 2, paragraphs 2–5.
36. “Apostles’ Creed,” *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 75.

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CHAPTER EIGHT

“Seven trewe bataylis for Jesus sake”: The Long-Suffering Saracen Palomides

Nina Dulin-Mallory

David Copperfield is born on a Friday, he tells us, because on that day of the week his mother is frightened by the sudden and terrifying appearance of her late husband's aunt, Miss Betsey Trotwood. Instead of knocking at the door like the decent, though eccentric, Christian woman we eventually learn her to be, Aunt Betsey presses her face, flat and distorted, against the window; Copperfield later recalls: “looking round the room, slowly and inquiringly, [she] began on the other side, and carried her eyes on, like a Saracen's Head in a Dutch Clock, until they reached my mother.”¹ No Victorian reader of this first number of the novel in 1849 would have found the sinister reference to the cold stare of a Saracen obscure or ambivalent. Betsey Trotwood's look was fierce. A Saracen could not possibly have been up to any good.

Such a perception is clearly not the fault of Sir Thomas Malory. His fifteenth-century depiction of the Saracen Palomides, without question the most complex and interesting of any literary Saracen of the period, is only to be feared by his enemies, and those enemies may as well be Middle Eastern as Middle English.

This Saracen Palomides first appears in the thirteenth-century prose *Tristan* cycle as Tristan's rival for Isolt, and later his story is enlarged in the *Roman de Palamède*. Earlier versions of the story of Tristan and Isolt were written in poetry rather than prose, of course, by Béroul, Thomas, Gottfried von Strassburg, and Eilert von Oberg, but Palomides does not appear until thirteenth-century prose cycles. In the *Morte Darthur* of 1485, Thomas Malory was the first medieval author to include Palomides in any Arthurian compilation in English. Malory's probable knowledge of literary Saracens, other than his French source, would have come from his reading of well-known French chansons and gestes in which Saracens are occasionally virtuous, but more often wicked.² In the *Morte Darthur*, Malory generally follows the French prose *Tristan*, defining and developing his own version of the character of Palomides. The context from which this very literary Saracen emerges is valuable to briefly reconstruct.

The perception of Muslims in twelfth-century France, in that period just preceding the origins of the *Tristan* cycle, had two aspects. Through commerce and the assimilation of Eastern culture in Muslim Spain there derived an admiration for the accomplishments of the civilization brought from the East, and to a great extent, an appreciation of the famous figures of Islamic history: the scholar Alfarabi, the philosopher Avicenna, the scientist and mathematician Averroës, and the hero Salah al-Din.³ From the crusades, however, the perception of the Saracens as cruel, cunning, black idolators advancing barbarously into the Christian north is seen in the many *gestes du roi* and chansons de geste of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. In the *gestes* of *Garin de Monglane*, *Doon de Mayence*, *de Blaye*, *de Nanteuil*, and *de Saint Gilles*, the enemies are Saracen, as is also the case in many of the famous *gestes du roi*, such as *Fierabras* and *Aquin*. Robert Bossuat cites the eponymous cycles of *Garin de Monglane* and *Doon de Mayence* as the best known of all these *gestes*, "pour constituer le héros défenseur du trône et de la chrétienté, soutien des veuves et des orphelins, qui défendra contra les Sarrasins la Provence, le Languedoc et la Catalogne."⁴

Into this literary milieu, the prose version *Tristan* and the *Roman de Palamède* appeared within a few decades of each other. The *Roman de Palamède* (ca. 1230) exists in no modern edition, although part of the original romance that had been printed in Paris by Antoine Verard as late as 1501, *Gyron le Courtois*, was reprinted in 1980. The roman, while having little to do with the adventures of Palomides himself, tells a great deal of the history of the knights the Italians would later call the "Old Table"—that generation of Utherpendragon and Palomides's father, Esclabor. Many of the details of Palomides's origins are to be found there, as well as in the earlier prose *Tristan*. Palomides is a noble Saracen whose father, "un gentil-homme païen de Babylone,"⁵ saved the emperor from attack by a lion, and

was sent to Logres with his family and his uncle Alphazar to escape a plot to kill him after he was wrongfully accused of the emperor's nephew's death. Esclabor's wife, Palomides's mother, was Irish and had been shipwrecked before the story begins, though we do not learn exactly where she landed or what she was doing on a ship in the Mediterranean. This Irish-Arabic parentage is important because it is clear that in these thirteenth-century French texts, there was no interest in creating a pure and somehow potent Saracen, while contrarily, Malory will, in the fifteenth century English text, omit this Irish lady except for a single reference that makes no mention of her origin. Palomides has many brothers, of various numbers in different manuscripts, but we learn the names of only two of them in either the *Tristan* or the *Roman de Palamède*. These brothers, Sir Segwarydes and Sir Saphir, become baptized almost upon arrival in Logres. Palomides's refusal to be baptized until he makes himself worthy is a significant and unique characteristic. After adventures lasting two months in the city of Lonegloi in Northumberland, during which Esclabor and Alphazar save the life of King Pellinor from attack by unnamed knights of the Round Table, they journey to Camelot to arrive at the time of Arthur's coronation. This was a popular romance, and its title is frequently encountered in the catalogues of medieval European libraries.⁶ Emperor Frederick II expressed thanks for a copy in a letter of February 5, 1240, and E. G. Gardner claims it was Aristo's favorite among all the Arthurian romances.⁷

The most extensive thirteenth-century presentation of Palomides other than the *Tristan* is Rusticiano de Pisa's compilation for Edward I. The popularity of the compilation is indisputable: "the opening incident of Branor le Brun was rendered into Greek tetrameters about 1300; a set of illustrations, of which eight scenes remain, was painted on the walls of the castle of St. Floret near Issoire about 1350; and the romance influenced the *Tavola Ritonda*, the *Orlando Innamorato*, *Gyrone il Cortese*, and the Spanish *Don Tristan de Leonis*."⁸ Other contemporary works that were influenced by the *Tristan* and the *Palamède* are the lengthy French prose pieces *Les Prophecies de Merlin* (1272–1279), written by the pseudonymous Mastre Richard d'Irlande, and *Febusso e Breusso* (1320–1325), composed by the *cantastorie* in Italy. A short *cantare* somewhat later in the century, *Tristano e Lancelotto*, is based on an episode from Rusticiano's compilation in which Palomides and Tristan engage in battle; they vow to cease but return eight days later to resume; at that second contest, Tristan fights Lancelot thinking he is Palomides.⁹

Palomides's distinguishing characteristics in both the thirteenth-century *Tristan* and the fifteenth-century *Morte Darthur* are his incessant suit for the hand of Isolt, his pursuit of the Questing Beast, his position at the Round Table below Lancelot, Tristram, and Lamorak as fourth best knight in the

world, his identity as a Saracen, and his determination to fight seven battles for Christ before his baptism. In all this, Palomides's struggle produces considerable suffering as a result of what cannot be, and passionate and emotional passages worthy of more critical attention than they have yet received. Palomides's dual grief is that he loves a lady he cannot have, and that he honors and admires (though in his jealousy he also hates) the knight who is her lover. From the moment he sees Isolt he knows he can love no other. In an episode in which he actually abducts Isolt, Palomides is pursued by Tristram to the castle of Sir Adtherpe, and when the inevitable battle begins between the suitors, Isolt entreats them to stop for fear Palomides will die a Saracen. Here, and seemingly as punishment, Isolt sends Palomides to Camelot with a message for Queen Guinevere that there are only four lovers in all the world: Lancelot and Guinevere, and Tristram and Isolt. Regardless of rebuffs and failures, the Saracen never gives up his love of Isolt, nor does he ever take another lover. In this regard he is much more faithful than his Christian better who is often impressed with the beauty of other ladies, once tries to abduct Segwarydes's wife, and eventually marries a different Isolt—Isolt le Blanche Maynes.

The pursuit of the Questing Beast by Palomides is a curious diversion from the main narrative of the Tristram story. Palomides takes up the pursuit after the death of Pellinor, who had followed and attempted unsuccessfully to capture the beast all his life. This beast has the head of a serpent, the body of a leopard, the buttocks of a lion, the feet of a hart, and a yelping ("questyng") emanating from his belly like the yapping of 20 pairs of hounds. Palomides never captures the beast either, but he is often identified as the knight in search of it, and there are two instances in the *Morte Darthur* of the beast's appearance followed by Palomides in pursuit. This feature of the Saracen's history has remained popular: Edmund Spenser includes the beast in Book 6 of *The Faerie Queen*, though it is pursued by Pelleas and Lamorak rather than Palomides; Smollett adopts the beast as a figure for the mob in his "Adventures of an Atom"; Byron, too, refers to the beast in unpublished lines from Canto 1 of *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*; and in this century, Brian Kennedy Cooke's *The Quest of the Beast* follows Palomides's adventures using this pursuit as a focus.¹⁰

As a courageous, powerful, and celebrated knight, Palomides ranks among Arthur's greatest knights below only Lancelot, Tristram, and Lamorak. Of the eight duels of chivalry in the *Morte Darthur*, Palomides wins three, Lancelot wins three, and Tristram and King Mark each win one. Palomides is capable of success in tournaments against both Tristram and Lamorak (as well as against other less skilled knights), and only Lancelot's strength is entirely beyond that of all other knights, including Palomides. The Saracen knight is also significantly involved in all three major tourna-

ments in the Book of Sir Tristram in the *Morte*. In the tournament at the Maiden's Castle, he fights for King Arthur's side, and on the third day engages in a fierce battle with Tristram that leaves them both wounded. In the tournament at Surluse, on the first day Palomides beheads Sir Gonerydes, on the second day he beheads Sir Gonerydes's brother Sir Archade, and on the third day gravely wounds Sir Blamoure and battles to exhaustion against a challenger he cannot defeat, discovered later to be Lamorak. In the tournament at Lonezep in an impassioned effort to win the worship of Isolt, Palomides is more successful than in any other contest. When he sees Isolt cheering Tristram, Palomides fights more aggressively; unfortunately, in his zeal he accidentally beheads Lancelot's horse, and Lancelot advances at him "wyth his swerde naked in his honde."¹¹ Palomides's response is typical of this Saracen's oddly humble determination: "jantyll knyght, forgyff me myne unknyghtly dedis, for I have no power nothir myght to wythstonde you. And I have done so muche this day that well I wote I ded never so muche nothir never shall do so muche in my days."¹² Lancelot agrees to giving Palomides the prize for that day's contest "for to say the sothe, ye have done mervaylously well this day, and I undirstonde a parte for whos love ye do hit, and will I wote that love is a grete maystry."¹³

In each of these roles or aspects of his character, Palomides's suffering is evident. This quality of the long-suffering aspirant is not developed anywhere by Malory so completely as in his depiction of the Saracen Palomides, who alone has sorrows that develop the theme of the struggle for the unattainable. He cannot rise in rank, he cannot win Isolt, and he cannot capture the Questing Beast. Only as a Saracen in pursuit of his soul's salvation does he succeed, and then only after the wounds of the many battles he has determined he must fight in order to be worthy of baptism.

Before the arrival of Palomides, knights of the Round Table knew what to expect of Saracens: they had no honor, they were allied with the devil, and they were "liable to emit a most unpleasant smell when their heads were cut off."¹⁴ The fact that even after the rest of his family had been baptized we have the unredeemed Palomides to observe is significant in the *Morte*: this Saracen will fight in battles every one of which puts him in peril of a mortal wound that would send his soul to hell; we have also to observe him as a Saracen lover whose great passion for Isolt is hopeless because she loves a greater and Christian knight; and we observe him as a Saracen who takes up the most puzzling quest of the entire *Morte Darthur*—the search for the Questing Beast.

Clearly, Malory has no intention of mitigating Palomides's Saracen nature. The expectation that Palomides will be dishonorable, if not utterly wicked, makes him a complex character who can be used for Malory's purposes in reworking his French *Tristan* source. Given this undiluted Saracenness, Palomides is still the fourth best knight in the world. This

"place" is occupied nowhere in Arthurian literature except in the depiction of Palomides: knights, including Palomides's brothers and father, are or become Christian, or they suffer death at the hands of Christian knights.

Three characteristics of Palomides in the French prose *Tristan*, which Thomas Malory used as his source, are the basis for his character in the *Morte*. First, his speech is eloquent and highly metaphorical; second, he is, uncharacteristically for a Saracen, humble; third, his prowess as a knight worthy of worship is known throughout the world.

Palomides's speech, particularly that about love and about his hopeless situation in regard to Isolt, rivals anything in the *Tristan*. His is a *vif amour*, his cause exquisitely sad, and the highly figurative nature of the language he uses echoes his Arabic origins. At one point in the *Tristan*, Palomides expresses the plight of a lover in these words:

He who gives his heart to love is like the fool who climbs the mountain to grasp the moon he sees resting on the summit; love is like a candle in the obscurity of night, the gleam invisible to everyone but the lover; or like the most beautiful flower growing from out the thorn. Love gives birth to *courtoisie*, the highest hope of man.¹⁵

Later in the *Tristan*, when Palomides is claiming the pursuit of the Questing Beast for himself alone, he says his other life's quest is the fair Iseult, "the rose and virtue of the entire world, the flower worth more than gold."¹⁶

Another remarkable characteristic in Malory's French source is the Saracen's considerable humility, a quality not attributed to any other Saracen, and indeed generally in contrast with the perceived view of Saracens. At the tournament at the chateau of Ganan, for example, Tristan overhears the exhausted Palomides cry, "God of Heaven, why do you forget me thus, me who calls to you day and night? Yet I am not ashamed; if I have been dishonored today, it is not because of you, but because of Tristan."¹⁷ Soon after that battle when Dinadan and Tristan are disguised and imprisoned with Palomides at Darras, Dinadan asks Palomides what he would do if he chanced upon Tristan in these circumstances; Palomides answers, "I would show him the honor and service due my better, because of *sa haute chevalerie*."¹⁸ Tristan is so moved that he promises never again to seek the death of Palomides (although he will), and says he is now sorry for having fought him so many times. At the end of his imprisonment at Darras, Palomides again exhibits this humility when he observes, "for all men, prison admonishes the wicked and defeats the haughty."¹⁹

Third, Malory encountered in his source a repeated insistence on the extraordinary strength and courage of the Saracen. In MSS. 99 and 103

Brunor calls Bleoberis and Palomides the two best knights in the world; in MS. 102 Lamorak calls Palomides the best knight in the world save Lancelot, though he does not know Palomides's name, only that he is "le chevrier a la beste glatissant;"²⁰ in MSS. 99 and 103 (and others) Palomides is once overthrown by Bleoberis, but is said nevertheless to be the greater knight because he is "bolder and more gallant;"²¹ Tristan himself calls Palomides "one of the four best knights in the world."²²

Another way this characteristic is manifested is in Palomides's frequent willingness to take up others' burdens when Christian knights consistently pursue their own interests. When the King of the Red City has been murdered, for instance, Palomides is the only knight who will agree to find and punish the assassins; Tristan refuses because he is afraid he will be too late arriving at the tournament at Lonezep, where he intends to earn greater worship from Isolt. Palomides accomplishes this deed and still arrives in time for the tournament.

Surely, however, the most significant testament to Palomides's prowess as knight comes from the history of Charlemagne included in the *Tristan*. Although it was not later retold by Malory, it appears in the French manuscripts already quoted above and believed to be closest to his lost direct source. The narrative contains the highest praise of Palomides to be found in any Arthurian material. It is a concluding episode that relates that 130 years after the death of Arthur, Charlemagne had conquered England where he heard stories of the great deeds of Galahad, Tristan, Lancelot, and Palomides. Charlemagne reasons that Arthur's renowned kingdom was a result of having had these, the best knights in the world. Charlemagne writes all this down in a book, and he leaves England with the swords of Tristan and Palomides, which he has found in an abbey. When the swords are tested and compared to the sword of Roland, Palomides's is judged the best of the three. Charlemagne keeps Palomides' sword for himself, and he gives Tristan's sword to Ogier le Danoys. This Charlemagne story, according to Eilert Löseth, is evidently an invention of some early redactor who felt it necessary to give motivation for the obvious preference there is for these knights. It concludes, in Löseth's account, by relating that in Charlemagne's old age he liked to retell the stories of these four knights to a cleric after dinner, and that:

he always cried about the death of Tristan, whom he believed to be without equal and superior to Galahad, just as he preferred Palomides to Lancelot, though the reason is not clear, because the story of the Sant Graal does not say that Lancelot is less worthy of praise than Palomides.²³

In the end, in both the *Tristan* and the *Morte Darthur*, the excellent knight Palomides is, of course, baptized. He has fought his battles for

Christ's sake, as he has set out to do, and his reward is salvation. He has been, in fact, in every observable way, Christian all along. Or he has been a Saracen only in terms of his distant origins, not in terms of his ethics or behavior. This Saracen's role in the thirteenth-century French and in the fifteenth-century English is entirely literary. Saracens, we discover (though they are required to be baptized) can be good, and Christians, we discover, can be very wicked.

Notes

1. Charles Dickens, *The Personal History of David Copperfield*, ed. Trevor Blount (London, 1966), 52.
2. Richard D. Altick, *The Scholar Adventurers* (New York, 1950); 75, and P. J. C. Field, *The Life and Times of Sir Thomas Malory* (Cambridge, 1993), xxvi.
3. Richard Southern, *Western Views of Islam in the Middle Ages*, 2d printing (Cambridge, Mass., 1978), 7.
4. Robert Bossuat, *Extraits des chansons de geste* (Paris, 1935), 9.
5. Eilert Löseth, *Le roman en prose de Tristan: analyse critique d'après les manuscrits de Paris* (rpt. New York, 1976), 439.
6. William Matthews, *The Ill-Framed Knight: A Skeptical Inquiry into the Identity of Sir Thomas Malory* (Berkeley, Ca., 1966), 142–47.
7. Edmund G. Gardner, *The Arthurian Legend in Italian Literature* (London, 1930), 279.
8. Cedric E. Pickford, "Miscellaneous French Prose Romances," in *Arthurian Literature in the Middle Ages*, ed. Roger Sherman Loomis (Oxford, 1959), 325.
9. Gardner, *The Arthurian Legend*, 260–62.
10. Brian Kennedy Cooke, *The Quest of the Beast* (London, 1957).
11. Eugene Vinaver, ed., *The Works of Sir Thomas Malory*, 3d ed., rev. P. J. C. Field (Oxford, 1990), 739, lines 23–24.
12. Vinaver, ed., *Works of Sir Thomas Malory*, 739, lines 31–34.
13. Vinaver, ed., *Works of Sir Thomas Malory*, 740. lines 5–9.
14. Cooke, *The Quest of the Beast*, 9.
15. Löseth, *Le roman en prose*, 70–71. All translations are mine.
16. Löseth, *Le roman en prose*, 265.
17. Löseth, *Le roman en prose*, 105.
18. Löseth, *Le roman en prose*, 113.
19. Löseth, *Le roman en prose*, 117.
20. Löseth, *Le roman en prose*, 58.
21. Löseth, *Le roman en prose*, 79.
22. Löseth, *Le roman en prose*, 112.
23. Löseth, *Le roman en prose*, 302.

Noble Saracen or
Muslim Enemy?
The Changing Image
of the Saracen in
Late Medieval
Italian Literature*

Gloria Allaire

In a 1977 study, John Patrick Donnelly pointed out the “shapelessness of Moslem culture” portrayed in High Renaissance epic poems, and the apparent absence of “a sense of European racial superiority over Turks and Arabs.”¹ In a more recent study, Antonio Franceschetti suggested that this “improvement in the attitude of Italian writers towards the ‘Saracens’” during the course of the fifteenth century was due in part to various changes initiated by the Florentine prose writer Andrea da Barberino (ca. 1371–ca. 1431).² On the other hand, Peter Noble assures us that “[t]here was already a long tradition of respect for certain Saracens” in French epic poetry, evidence of which may be found in the figure of Margariz in the *Chanson de Roland*.³ Taking these varying opinions as a point of departure, this essay will attempt to fill the gaps left by the aforementioned studies by examining chivalric texts that they ignored. With the *Chanson de Roland*, the supreme

paradigm of Old French epic, as one terminus, and the Italian Renaissance epic, representative of the genre's fullest flowering, as the other, I will seek to determine if the image of the Saracen in late medieval Italian literature did indeed change with respect to its *chanson de geste* predecessors, and how later adaptations of this literary material reflected, or departed from, French models. Throughout this study, I use the term "Saracen" to differentiate the literary construct from its historical Muslim counterpart. I will focus on the Saracen warrior, although other marginalized figures such as Muslim women, "priests," or merchants are also represented in these texts.

Although the above-mentioned studies hold great interest for us, it is important to note certain fallacious assumptions made by modern critics due to their use of too small a sampling of texts. For example, Franceschetti's assertion (in line with Donnelly's earlier hypothesis) that "there is apparently not much relation between historical Saracens and those depicted in Italian chivalric literature"⁴ can be disproved by examining a text such as *Guerrino il Meschino* by Andrea da Barberino.⁵ Although Franceschetti granted this same author a pivotal role in the rehabilitation of the Saracen, the omission of this crucial text (which, to be fair, badly needs a critical edition) seriously mars the conclusions reached in his study. Similarly, Donnelly errs when he suggests that "Ariosto invents a Moslem clergy after the western pattern."⁶ It is, in fact, possible to find the notion of a "Saracen" priesthood in Italian texts prior to Ariosto, notably, once again, in *Guerrino*, composed in the first or second decade of the fifteenth century and widely circulated. When dealing with medieval texts, scholars must guard against privileging modern notions of creativity and originality at the expense of fairly considering standard medieval compositional processes that allowed for rewriting, translating, and compiling. Before venturing attributions of originality in discussions of style, one needs to be familiar with a huge body of French and Franco-Italian literary sources, as well as their later adaptations into Tuscan. As one's familiarity with these texts expands, it becomes clear that many assumed "innovations" were actually grounded in older conventions. As such, they were part of an ongoing evolutionary process in the narrative arts that stretched not only across centuries, but across national boundaries, languages, and literatures.

By the early fourteenth century, full-scale wars between Christian and Muslim armies were a literary commonplace. The distance of time both from actual historical events such as the battle of Roncesvalle in 778, and from eleventh-century literary models such as the *Chanson de Roland*, as well as a long tradition of translating and reworking Old French models into verse and prose, account for the emergence of various literary conventions of the "Saracen." From the ninth century onward, erroneous notions had also entered the late medieval discourse on Muslims by way of polem-

ical writings such as those of John VIII and Eulogius of Cordoba. Many notions from learned theological sources filtered down into popular narratives. By the fourteenth century, then, Italian authors could have assumed that their readers or listeners would have a certain familiarity with the underlying Christian/Saracen antipathy in the Carolingian cycle narratives. One recalls that Dante had included several protagonists from this material in his *Comedy*.⁷ Against this largely homogeneous background, smaller narrative differences can be found by closely examining a sampling of texts often overlooked by modern criticism. These differences may be attributable to a particular author's style, the taste of his audience, the cycle or textual tradition to which a text belongs, or the state of East-West political relations during which a text was composed.

Of the texts selected for this study, several have recently been published or edited while others are still available only in manuscript form.⁸ Works chosen include treatments in prose and *cantari* in octaves. To provide a more consistent sampling, I have chosen only Tuscan compositions spanning from the mid-fourteenth-century *Orlando* to Pulci's *Morgante*, which dates from the 1460s.⁹ Interestingly, the latter directly reworks many portions of the former, as De Robertis has shown.¹⁰ While Pulci's work was omitted from the analysis of Franceschetti, who considered it a Renaissance text, its inclusion among "early Italian chivalric literature" seems justifiable due to its many medieval components, as illustrated in Paolo Orvieto's masterful study.¹¹ I will also cite several prose works related to Andrea da Barberino: the attribution *La Storia di Ansuigi*, his proven *Aspramonte* and *Guerrino*, and *Il Libro di Rambaldo*, a direct reworking of certain portions of *Guerrino* made by an anonymous fifteenth-century Florentine author.¹²

A study by C. Meredith Jones furnishes a useful catalogue of conventions used to represent Saracens in the *chanson de geste* tradition.¹³ These elements include the notion of Muhammed not only as a false prophet, but as a god; the conception of Islam as a false religion with its own trinity, multiple gods, idols, and a priesthood—a virtual inversion of Christian beliefs; swearing by Saracen gods; Saracen places of worship as counterparts to Christian churches; a lack of distinction between the terms "Saracen" and "pagan"; a lack of distinction between Muslims of various countries; depiction of Saracens as giants, devils or with some physical deformity, such as horns; the association of Saracens with treachery, sorcery, magic, the healing arts; and the frequent literary device of a duel between Christian and Saracen champions that results in the almost certain defeat of the Saracen and his ensuing baptism and conversion to Christianity.

The notion of Muhammad not only as a false prophet, but as a god or idol to be worshipped, found regularly in *chansons de geste*, not unexpectedly reappears in all the Italian texts examined for this study. In the earliest

of these—*Orlando*—Muhammad is expressly called false and fallacious.¹⁴ In the *Cantari d'Aspramonte*, *I Cantari di Rinaldo*, and *Morgante*, “Macone” functions entirely as a god when he is called upon to bestow favor on the Saracens’ military enterprises or to protect them in battle.¹⁵ In several texts he is shown clearly in the role of a god being addressed in prayer.¹⁶ After a victory in *Rambaldo*, the Saracen hero and “queen” publicly thank their “god” Macone (“dio machone,” fols. 12v–13r). On the other hand, Macone is frequently derided (from the Christian authors’ point of view) as being useless and powerless.¹⁷ The Islamic prophet is called “Muhammad God” or “Muhammad our god” on several occasions in Pulci’s *Morgante*.¹⁸ Not coincidentally, the notion of the falseness of the Islamic “gods” is stated explicitly several times in *Morgante*: “O Muhammed, you are a false god!”; “Apollino and the other vain gods”; “false and wicked Muhammed.”¹⁹ The falseness of the Islamic faith itself, often implicit in these texts, is spelled out in *Ansuigi* when a Christian champion declares to a Saracen ruler: “Your faith is false and vain” (“La vostra fe’ è falssa e vana,” f. 4v). Two unusual ideas pertaining to Muhammad’s supposed deity—the “feast day of the god Muhammed” and “the sacred books of Muhammed”—are found in *Rambaldo* and in its model *Guerrino*.²⁰

The conventional Old French Saracen trinity—Mahomet, Tervagant, and Apollyon—recurs in most of the Italian texts, but often only two of the three are named in a single passage.²¹ References to the separate members of the false trinity are found scattered throughout each Italian text. There are, however, instances in which the three gods are mentioned together.²² A fourth god, borrowed from classical antiquity, is Jupiter. He was one of many minor gods Muslims supposedly worshipped and had long since appeared in French literature and chronicles.²³ In the *Aspramonte* tradition, “Iupiter” is considered the fourth Saracen god, and regularly appears alongside Macone (Maumetto), Apollino, and Trevigante.²⁴

Explicit references to Saracen idols occur: *Fierabraccia* refers to “gli Apollini” held in an Emir’s castle as synonym for “idols” (VIII, 40, 2). In MS Additional 10808, Breuzo, a cruel Saracen, sets up an “idol” under a rich pavilion (64v). Both the *Cantari d'Aspramonte* and the prose *Aspramonte* by Andrea da Barberino conserve the episode of four idols being captured and destroyed by the Christian armies, a scene that had appeared in the French original.²⁵ In many of these texts, the word “Macometto” also serves as a synonym for “idol” (*Morg.* XXIV, 62, 6). The erroneous idea of a Saracen priesthood is represented by the figure of “Albateille,” a priest and “servant of Maumetto,” alternately called “hermit,” in *Rambaldo* (f. 24r). This character was largely inspired by a similar passage in *Guerrino* (f. 123v).

Swearing by Saracen gods, noted in Meredith Jones’s study, occurs infrequently in MS Add. 10808 (68v, 89r, 95v, 96r), *Fierabraccia* (I, 28, 5), *Ram-*

baldo (fols. 22v, 28v), and *Guerrino* ("per lo idio Maometto," f. 63r), but is very frequent in *Orlando*, the *Cantari d'Aspramonte*, *Aspramonte*, and *Cantari di Rinaldo*. The oath "By Muhammed!" ("per Macometto!") occurs with great regularity in *Morgante* and its model, *Orlando*.²⁶ There are also instances of defeated Saracens cursing their gods, but these are less frequent.²⁷ Such depictions, inherited from the chansons de geste, show the Saracen heroes as blasphemers capable of violent outbursts: their Christian counterparts take the name of their God in vain less frequently.

Although Old French texts occasionally featured Saracen places of worship as a direct counterparts to Christian churches, references to mosques in early Italian chivalric texts are very rare, occurring only in *Guerrino* and *Morgante*. While the latter text limits these references to using the substantive form, the former is exceptional for its detailed architectural description of the interior of a mosque at Mecca.²⁸

As in the chansons de geste, there is an almost total lack of distinction between the terms "Saracen" and "pagan" in early Italian chivalric texts. Both these terms are borrowed from Old French (*sarracin*, *païen*) and are used to indicate generically the enemies of Christianity. The earliest two texts I have examined, *Orlando* and *Fierabraccia*, nearly always use "pagani" with a few instances of "saracini."²⁹ By contrast, *Aspramonte* prefers "saracini," but "pagani" appears several times.³⁰ More often, balanced usage of the two synonyms occurs in *Cantari d'Aspramonte*, *Cantari di Rinaldo*, *Ansuigi*, *Guerrino*, and *Morgante*. The aggregate homeland of the Other is referred to as "Saracínia" or "Paganía." Individual authors seem to have chosen one of these vague geographical terms to conform to their preferred adjective, "Saracen" or "pagan." In *I Cantari di Rinaldo* there is one instance of both *Saracínia* and *Paganía* appearing in the same stanza (XII, 36). The term "Paganía" is preferred in *Orlando*, MS Add. 10808, *Aspramonte*, and *Morgante*, but it is used less often in *Cantari d'Aspramonte*.³¹ On the other hand, despite the use of both nouns "saracini" and "pagani," the author of *Ansuigi* chooses "Saracínia" when he refers generically to the Christian enemies' land of origin (f. 5v).

Most Italian authors preserve the lack of distinction between Muslims of various countries that was found in their chansons de geste models. Such texts rarely name discrete cities or countries in preference for a vague, undefined, exotic landscape or broad political divisions. For instance, the action of MS Add. 10808 shifts between Africa and Spain, the two countries most often referred to in these epics, although *Fierabraccia* mentions India, Portugal, and Barbary in one passage and *I Cantari d'Aspramonte* contains two unusual references to "Africans" ("Africanti," XXI, 45, 1; XXII, 13, 3). This adjective also makes rare appearances in MS Add. 10808 (80r), *Aspramonte* (15, 37, 62, 109, 120) and *Morgante* (VIII, 7, 6; XIII, 6, 1; XX, 63, 4). In

a single stanza of *Morgante*, there is an interesting appearance of all three adjectives to describe a single character: "pagano," "affricante," "saracin" (VIII, 61). Less frequent adjectives of nationality, Turk and Persian, may be found in Old French texts and appear, with similar infrequency, in Italian ones.³² All the works of Andrea da Barberino are exceptional in this respect: his texts plot out a careful geography and distinguish among Saracens of various nationalities. This concept demands a geographical sophistication that most late medieval chivalric texts lack. In Andrea's *Guerrino*, Egyptians, Medians, and Arabs are clearly considered Saracens, and this feature is repeated in the derivative *Rambaldo*. Episodes of internecine strife within the Muslim world, found in *Guerrino*, were also copied verbatim into *Rambaldo*.

The Old French depiction of Saracens as gigantic, diabolic, or deformed is only partially conserved by Italian authors. One bestial trait survives in the fourteenth-century *Orlando*: a fierce pagan warrior is described as having a visage "like a serpent" (XIX, 5, 5). Saracen giants abound in all the Italian texts, but especially in the *cantari*. These are presented, for the most part, as fierce opponents, although they are usually of secondary narrative importance. A few are important as protagonists or antagonists: Morgante in *Orlando* and in Pulci's more famous reworking; Fierabraccia and the giantess Meota in *Fierabraccia*; Brunamonte, and four giant brothers in *Cantari di Rinaldo*; Magranis and the giantess Marmonda in *Ansuigi*, etc. Others appear, though with naturalistic depiction, in the highly verisimilar narratives of Andrea. The giants in his *Guerrino*, for example, are clearly associated with the barbaric "Tatar" race dwelling in the wilderness north of the Caspian Sea, as distinct from the more civilized Middle Eastern races. While these Saracen giants range from cruel to simply uncouth, in the Italian literary tradition they are no longer deformed or horned as in the earlier chansons de geste Meredith Jones analyzed. They apparently owe more to the wild man tradition of popular lore than to formal anti-Muslim polemics.³³

Although Old French chansons de geste associated Saracens with treachery and Torquato Tasso's Counter-Reformation Saracens are clearly evil, the medieval Italian texts surveyed treat Saracens as courageous, formidable opponents who fight like gentlemen according to the rules of chivalry. They are described with positive adjectives such as "bold," "daring," and "gentle" in *Orlando* and "valiant" in *Guerrino*.³⁴ One notable exception showing Saracen cruelty is King Vergante, who despises both Christianity and Islam and whips his prisoners daily (*Orl.* XXVI, 32–33). A chronicle-like passage in *Aspramonte* depicts the legendary cruelty attributed to Saracen invaders: they have beheaded numerous defeated Calabrese noblemen and cut off their wives' breasts (97). In *Fierabraccia* certain cruel and sadistic Saracens imprison and torture trespassers, but both sides view this behavior as deplorable, aberrant, and atypical. Overall, *Fierabraccia* presents a re-

spectful, ennobled portrayal of the Saracen enemy. In contrast to Tasso's proto-Baroque portrayal, the early Italian texts surveyed feature minimal instances of Saracens being connected to sorcery, magic, and the healing arts. Fierabracca carries vials of healing liquor on a chain on his person, which his Christian opponent seizes and drinks, thereby curing his wounds (*Fier.* III, 29–30). One finds assorted Saracen necromancers in MS Add. 10808, *Guerrino*, and *Morgante* (XII, 81–82; XIII, 18, 2), but these are minor characters and their magic is not used on any large scale as it is later in Pulci or in Tasso. The most noteworthy magician in these texts is actually the Christian Malagigi, who appears in MS Add. 10808, *Cantari di Rinaldo*, and *Morgante*.

Meredith Jones pointed out the device of a duel between Christian and Saracen champions in which the almost certain death of the Saracen is mitigated by his agreement to become Christian. This important plot device is maintained by Italian authors: Ulivieri fights Fierabracca (*Fier.* III); Orlando fights Candragone in MS Add. 10808 (79v–80r); Agolante duels with Ramondo in *Ansuigi* (f. 4r–v), and so on. I know of no instance in these texts in which a Christian accepts the Islamic faith to avoid death. In one unusual case, a Saracen who is having the worst of it agrees to accept baptism, but then tricks his Christian opponent in order to win (Add. 10808, 84r–v).

The “shapelessness” of Muslim culture portrayed in High Renaissance epics was also present, with few exceptions, in earlier Italian texts. Saracen culture is essentially nonexistent in *Orlando*, nor is there anything inherently “Other” about the descriptions of Saracens in MS Add. 10808. A few details in other texts suggest some awareness of actual elements of Muslim culture. In *Fierabracca*, *Cantari d'Aspramonte*, and *Ansuigi*, Saracen bowmen are feared for their deadly accuracy.³⁵ The authors of the *cantari* insist on the Saracens' wonderful mounts: two are called “perfect chargers;” others are realistically considered to be from Spain or Barbary.³⁶ A rare example of Eastern decorative arts is found in the description of a richly caparisoned horse as a gift for the emperor Carlo. The bit and stirrups are ornamented with enamel and gold, the saddle and saddle bow are of fine ivory, and the Spanish horse itself is draped with expensive sendal (*Cantari d'Aspr.* XIX, 38–39). In *Ansuigi*, one Saracen's shield is covered with serpent's skin (f. 6r). The Saracens in *Guerrino* wear turbans and carry scimitars, details assimilated in the imitative *Rambaldo* (f. 19r). One hastens to add that *Guerrino*, while featuring the full repertoire of conventional markers of Saracen alterity, is exceptionally rich in factual detail.³⁷ In *Morgante*, a Saracen lady wears a garment of an ornate, multicolored fabric and jewels (VI, 17), and this late text also features the rare use of the authentic Arab greeting “Salamalec.”³⁸

Some inaccuracies in representing Muslim culture crop up: one Saracen giant operates a tollbridge that costs 20 “fiorini” to pass (Add. 10808, 64v).

The image of Muhammad worked in fine gold is a common device worn by Saracens in Italian texts ("Macon lauorato d'oro fino," *Fier.* II, 19, 1–2). A Saracen battle standard in *Morgante* displays a winged "Macone" on a field of gold (XXV, 199, 6–7). Various occidental coats of arms are assigned to Saracen champions in *Aspramonte*: for example, an eagle (119), lions (122, 248), dragons (208, 212), and a scorpion (287). In discussing this sort of erroneous heraldry in Old French epic, Meredith Jones noted that Muslims had, in fact, used geometric decorations. Another cultural as well as linguistic inaccuracy concerns the application of European titles to Eastern rulers. *Orlando* refers to the "emperor" of Media ("lo 'mperadore di Media," XL, 23, 2). In *Rambaldo*, the African Agolante is called "emperor of the Saracens" ("imperadore de' saraini," f. 1v). *Rambaldo's* use of this title, normally reserved for Charlemagne, may be due to copying from Andrea's *Aspramonte*, with a perspective changed from a Christian to Saracen one.³⁹ By extension, Agolante's wife is called "empress" ("imperadrice") in *Rambaldo*; this title is given as "sultanness" ("soldana") in Andrea's more verisimilar texts. The use of nonexotic titles may have been done simply on analogy with known political hierarchies, or may be interpreted as part of a tendency to view the conventional enemy of the Paladins as not so very different after all. Similarly, some Italian texts project their own culture's foibles onto a Saracen "Other." The magnificent wedding procession for Marsilio's daughter in *Ansuigi*, chapter 23, for example, reflects the contemporary Florentine love for pomp and display more than it does authentic oriental practice.

Although champions—Saracen or Christian—are most often briefly sketched with epithets, sometimes an octave or more are dedicated to the description of a Saracen. Such descriptions may include details of physique, age, moral character, lineage, armor, weapons, and horse.⁴⁰ Prose texts, although freed from the requirements of line length and rhyme, maintain the brief references to physical attributes typical of the chivalric genre, but do sometimes feature descriptions in more detail. A Saracen priest/hermit is described in *Rambaldo* as having oily hair, a white beard, turban, ragged clothes: being all hairy and barefooted, he "seemed a devil" (24r). This figure is a composite of various characters in Andrea's *Guerrino*. The works of Andrea feature Africans described with black skin, red eyes, and white teeth, but his texts demonstrate the desire for naturalistic depiction freed from the older moralistic connotations of dark skin as being ugly, hateful, or evil found in the French models.⁴¹ In the *Cantari d'Aspramonte* (X, 15–16), as in its French model, the North African counselor to King Agolante, Balante, is white-skinned and blonde with a delicate, handsome face.⁴² In *Rambaldo*, Agolante's bastard daughter Ghalizella is blonde. *Rambaldo's* author created a Saracen heroine, the Countess Siretta of the

Castello Bello Porto: "a lovely creature—white, blonde," etc. The unlikely image of a fair Saracen appears much later in Tasso's *Clorinda*, although here the notion is rationalized: she turned out to have white skin because the decorations on her progenitors' marriage bed depicted a Caucasian girl.⁴³ The use of white skin may be due to the infusion of courtly romance ideals into the epic genre. It may also be seen as less a literary faux pas than as representing an important reduction of the role of exoticism in these narratives as well as an elimination of the Christian/Saracen antipathy traditional in the crusade-inspired epic.

In conclusion, we find that many elements of conventional Old French portrayals of the Saracen are solidly in place in late medieval Italian literature, with the exception that in Italian texts the Saracen characters do receive a more humanized, less evil or bestial representation than in the *chansons de geste*. The softening of Muslim Enemy into Noble Saracen may be due to the influence of particular authors, due to the ongoing infusion of romance material into that of epic, or thanks, in part, to European literary constructions inspired by the historical leader Salah al-Din, who was seen positively as a Saracen counterpart to Richard the Lionhearted.⁴⁴ While by and large Italian literature adheres to the older conventions, in certain texts a more individuated view appears. All the components are in place, but the selection and emphasis of those elements may vary depending on the individual author's taste. For example, Saracens are extremely noble and chivalrous opponents in *Fierabraccia* and in the *Aspramonte* tradition, but their dangerous, violent tendencies are voiced strongly in *Morgante*. The most accurate and far-ranging description of what was known or imagined about Muslim culture in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries occurs in Andrea's *Guerrino*. While Italian chivalric texts maintain the texture of the Old French battle epics—descriptions of armed conflicts, displays of military prowess, crusade-like campaigns against Islam, or Muslim invasions of Christian territories—the newer emphasis on the deeds of individual knights and the details of the champions depicted owe much to an infusion of elements from the romance genre. William Wistar Comfort has noted the "gradual effacement of the intensely vital religious and warlike spirit before the spirit of romance" within the French genre itself, a process inherited by Italian authors.⁴⁵ Closer contacts with real Muslims in late the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries experienced by Italian missionaries, merchants, and pilgrims would have further encouraged the humanizing process. Eternal warfare would always be a staple of this literary genre, but with the introduction of romance and naturalistic elements, the enmity could be reduced to humane contests of prowess between individuals, rather than being seen through the lenses of nationalism and religion.

Notes

- * A shorter version of this paper was presented at the 29th International Congress on Medieval Studies, Kalamazoo, 1994.
1. John Patrick Donnelly, S.J., "The Moslem Enemy in Renaissance Epic: Ariosto, Tasso and Camoëns," *Yale Italian Studies* 1 (1977): 163–64.
 2. Antonio Franceschetti, "On the Saracens in Early Italian Chivalric Literature," in *Romance Epic: Essays on a Medieval Literary Genre*, ed. Hans-Erich Keller, Studies in Medieval Culture, no. 24 (Kalamazoo, 1987), 207.
 3. Peter S. Noble, "Saracen Heroes in Adenet le Roi," in *Romance Epic*, 189.
 4. Franceschetti, "On the Saracens," 208.
 5. Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, MS Ricc. 2226, *Il Meschino di Durazzo* (more commonly known as *Guerrino il Meschino*) by Andrea da Barberino.
 6. Donnelly, "Moslem Enemy," 164.
 7. Roland *Inferno* XXXI, 18, *Paradiso* XVIII, 43; Charlemagne *Inf.* XXXI, 17, *Par.* VI, 96, XVIII, 43; Ganelon *Inf.* XXXII, 122; William of Orange *Par.* XVIII, 46; Renoart (Rinoardo) *Par.* XVIII, 46.
 8. "El Cantare di Fierabracca et Uliuieri: Italienische Bearbeitung der Chanson de Geste Fierabras," ed. E[dmund] Stengel, *Ausgaben und Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiete der Romanischen Philologie*, no. 2 (Marburg, 1881) (abbreviated as *Fier.*); *Cantari d'Aspramonte inediti* (*Magl.* VII 682), ed. Andrea Fassò, Collezione di opere inedite o rare, no. 137 (Bologna, 1981) (*Cantari d'Aspr.*); *I cantari di Rinaldo da Monte Albano*, ed. Elio Melli, Collezione di opere inedite o rare, no. 133 (Bologna, 1973) (*Rinaldo*); *Romanzo cavalleresco inedito* (British Library Add. MS 10808), ed. Aurelia Forni Mar-mocchi, Biblioteca di Filologia Romanza della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia dell'Università di Bologna, no. 6 (Bologna, 1989) (MS Add. 10808).
 9. "Orlando Die Vorlage zu Pulci's *Morgante*," ed. Johannes Hübscher, *Ausgaben und Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiete der Romanischen Philologie*, no. 60 (Marburg, 1886) (*Orl.*); Luigi Pulci, *Morgante*, ed. Davide Puccini, i grandi libri Garzanti, 2 vols. (Milano, 1989) (*Morg.*).
 10. Domenico De Robertis, *Storia del "Morgante"* (Florence, 1958).
 11. Franceschetti, "On the Saracens," 207; Paolo Orvieto, *Pulci medievale* (Rome, 1978).
 12. Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale, MS II.I.15, *La Storia di Ansuigi*, attributed to Andrea da Barberino (*Ans.*); Andrea da Barberino; *"L'Aspramonte": Romanzo cavalleresco inedito*, ed. Marco Boni, Collezione di opere inedite o rare, n.s. (Bologna, 1951) (*Aspr.*); Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale, MS Palatino 578, *Il libro di Rambaldo*, by "B. cittadino fiorentino" (*Ramb.*) See also my *Andrea da Barberino and the Language of Chivalry* (Gainesville, 1997).
 13. C. Meredith Jones, "The Conventional Saracen of the Songs of Geste," *Speculum* 17 (1942): 201–25.
 14. "Falso Malchometto" *Orl.* VIII, 39, 5; XIX, 7, 1; "dio fallace" II, 16, 6.
 15. *Cantari d'Aspr.* X, 21–22; *Rinaldo* VI, 31, 8; XII, 30, 5; "Aiutami, Macone!" *Morg.* XIII, 37, 2.

16. MS Add. 10808 fols. 73r, 82v; *Ramb.* f. 24r; *Aspr.* 143, 164.
17. *Orl.* I, 28, 2–3; II, 3, 4; II, 5, 5–6; II, 6, 3–4; *Aspr.* 107, 143, 146, 209.
18. “Macometto Iddio” *Morg.* IV, 43, 2; VIII, 9, 6; “iddio Macone” XIII, 30, 3; “O Macon nostro iddio” XIII, 55, 6.
19. “Macon fallace” *Morg.* I, 56, 4; “O Macometto, tu se’ falso iddio” III, 10, 3; “Macon falso e rio” IV, 96, 6; “Apollino e gli altri vani iddei” IV, 97, 1; “Macon falso e rio” XIV, 15, 2.
20. “La festa del iddio Maumetto” *Ramb.* f. 2r. “I sagri libri di Maometto” *Guerrino* f. 40r; *Ramb.* fols. 2r, 23r, 42r, 58r.
21. “Macone e ‘l misero Apollino . . .” *Fier.* IX, 1, 7; “allo Idio mahone e a travighante e agli altri ideidi di nostra fede” *Ramb.* f. 22v.
22. *Orl.* XXXVII, 29, 3–4; XL, 17, 1–2; XLV, 6, 1–3; MS Add. 10808 fols. 68r, 82v, 83v, 90r; *Guerrino* f. 68v; *Ramb.* f. 19r; *Morg.* III, 14, 3–4; IV, 50, 3–4; XVIII, 116–17, XXI, 101, 5–6.
23. Meredith Jones, “Conventional Saracen,” 208.
24. *Cantari d’Aspr.* XI, 13, 1–2; XXIII, 10, 1–2; *Aspr.* 10, 14–15, 16, 58, 65, 82, 101, 110, 112, 209. Cf. (*The Song of Aspremont (La Chanson d’Aspremont)*), trans. Michael A. Newth, Garland Library of Medieval Literature, Series B, no. 61 (New York, 1989), 81.
25. *Cantari d’Aspr.* XXII, 50, 2; *Aspr.* 182.
26. “Per Macometto” *Morg.* VIII, 47, 8; XIII, 40, 3; “per Macon” VIII, 71, 3; XV, 16, 3; XV, 49, 7; see also X, 145, 5; XIII, 44, 8; “per dio Malchometto” *Orl.* VIII, 3, 1; XI, 6, 5; XI, 18, 8; XIV, 11, 2; XVI, 32, 1; XXIX, 28, 1.
27. *Orl.* IX, 6, 8; *Fier.* IV, 34, 6–7; IX, 25, 3; MS Add. 10808 fols. 76v, 84r; “[chi] bestemiava maometto, chi apolino, chi trevichante,” *Guerrino*, f. 68v.
28. *Morg.* XXVII, 38, 3; 53, 7; 240, 4 and 265, 7. See Allaire, “Portrayal of Muslims in Andrea da Barberino’s *Guerrino il Meschino*,” in *Medieval Christian Perceptions of Islam: A Book of Essays*, ed. John V. Tolan (New York, 1996), 243–69.
29. “Pagan” *Orl.* VII, 38, 2; VIII, 32, 7; “Saracen” *Orl.* XVI, 12, 2; XVIII, 18, 7; XXIV, 20, 1; XXIX, 21, 3.
30. “Saracini”: *Aspr.* 13, 17, 19, 22, 25, 27, 28, 30, 32, 34, 37, 38, passim. “Pagani”: *Aspr.* 131, 164, 171, 196, 208, 210, 212, 213, 214.
31. “Pagania”: *Orl.* IV, 10, 4; IV, 12, 4; IV, 21, 2; XVIII, 35, 3; XXIII, 35, 3; XXXVI, 24, 5; XLII, 38, 4; passim; MS Add. 10808 fols. 64r, 66r, 67r, 68v, 71v, 77v, 82r, 88v, 91r, 93r, 93v; *Cantari d’Aspr.* XII, 52, 3; *Aspr.* 141, 159, 160; *Morg.* I, 19, 2; II, 14, 5; VIII, 6, 1; X, 21, 6; XII, 9, 4; XIII, 21, 8; XVII, 72, 4; XX, 4, 8, passim.
32. “Turk(s)” *Fier.* VII, 21; *Aspr.* 119; *Ans.* fols. 7r, 8v; “Persian(s)”: *Morgante* XX, 71, 1; XX, 74, 1. *Ansuiigi* also signals the nationality of a Saracen archer: “Butor the Arabian” (“Butor lo arabescho,” f. 6v).
33. John Block Friedman, *The Monstrous Races in Medieval Art and Thought* (Cambridge, Mass., 1981), 200; Juliann Vitullo, “Contained Conflict: Wild Men and Warrior Women in the Early Italian Epic,” *Annali d’Italianistica* 12 (1994): 39–42.

34. "Pagano francho" *Orl.* VIII, 37, 2; XVII, 18, 1; XXV, 37, 7; XXVI, 4, 6; "pagano francho e ardito" XV, 28, 6; "pagano ardito" XVIII, 40, 1; "pagan gentile" IX, 16, 7; "uno saraino molto valente della persona" *Guerrino* f. 200v.
35. "Archi soriani" ("Syrian bows"): *Cantari d'Aspr.* XXIII, 39, 1 and *Morg.* VIII, 24, 3; Saracen archer Balughante *Ans.* f. 23v.
36. "Destrier perfetto" *Rinaldo* VII, 4; "destrier valoroso e perfetto" *Rin.* XIV, 26; "il buon varion di Spagna" *Cantari d'Aspr.* XXI, 30, 7; "di Barberia di buon caual corsieri" *Fier.* VII, 21, 7.
37. See my "Portrayal of Muslims."
38. *Morg.* XII, 6, 6; XXI, 159, 8; XXVI, 26, 3; XXVII, 194, 4.
39. See my *Andrea da Barberino*, 93..
40. *Orl.* XVIII, 40; *Fier.* XII, 21–23; *Cantari d'Aspr.* IV, 31–34.
41. Middle English romance, derived from the same French models, preserved the equation black or *bleu* = evil. See William Wistar Comfort, "The Literary Role of the Saracens in the French Epic," *Proceedings of the Modern Language Association* 55 (1940): 650–51; Diane Speed, "The Saracens of *King Horn*," *Speculum* 65 (1990): 580–82; Kathleen Ann Kelly, "'Blue' Indians, Ethiopians, and Saracens in Middle English narrative texts," *Parergon* n.s. 11.1 (1993): 35–52.
42. *The Song of Aspremont*, 8.
43. See Donnelly, "Moslem Enemy," 169, n. 7.
44. The worthy Salah al-Din receives knighthood in the late thirteenth century Florentine *Novellino*, 3d ed., I Classici della BUR (Milan, 1989), Story 51.
45. Comfort, "The Character Types in the Old French Chansons de Geste," *Proceedings of the Modern Language Association* 21, n.s. 14 (1906): 417.

CHAPTER TEN

“New Barbarian” or
Worthy Adversary?
Humanist Constructs
of the Ottoman Turks
in Fifteenth-Century
Italy*

Nancy Bisaba

“I fear lest the times of the Vandals and the Goths return.”¹

—Poggio Bracciolini

Such was the Florentine humanist’s reaction to news that Constantinople, the seat of the Byzantine Empire, had fallen to the Ottoman Turks in 1453. The loss of Byzantium meant many different things to humanists. It represented the end of a great and glorious empire, a major blow to Christendom, and the loss of a rich heritage of art, architecture, and scholarship. Many humanists equated the siege to the fifth-century sack of Rome. The fall of Constantinople also stands as the turning point that awakened Europeans to the threat the Turks posed to their security.² By mid-1453, the Ottomans not only controlled Constantinople, but also much of Asia Minor, and large portions of the Balkans. Calls for crusade were issued

by the papacy and secular powers alike. A large number of humanists supported efforts toward crusade, often pointing to the example of early drives to the Holy Land, like the First Crusade. Still, the rhetoric employed by humanists in discussing crusade, and particularly the Turks, was generally not medieval in inspiration, but rather classical.³ A new secular vision of the Turks and crusade began to compete with, and, in some places, replace the rhetoric of holy war and “enemies of the faith.”

Humanist texts on crusade and the Turks survive in large numbers.⁴ The overwhelming majority of these works come from fifteenth-century Italy; they include letters and orations to princes and prelates calling for crusade, histories of the Turks and the crusades, ethnographic and religious studies of the Turks, laments on areas lost to the Turks, and even tracts on converting the Turks to Christianity. Until recently, though, this large corpus of humanist literature has failed to attract significant scholarly attention or study.⁵

Some major misperceptions have often prevented scholars from directing their attention to these texts. The most significant of these is the belief that humanist calls for crusade fell on deaf ears. While no major crusade was launched against the Turks in the fifteenth century, the papacy and a number of states made smaller scale efforts to help fund or mobilize crusades. Every pope from Eugenius IV (1431–47) to Leo X (1512–21) attempted to promote the cause of crusade. At certain times, Italian states such as Florence and Venice actively participated in crusade activities.⁶ And, of course, the Hungarians and the Balkan peoples vigorously battled the Turks until their countries were completely overcome. As demonstrated by Norman Housley, crusade still enjoyed prominence as a cultural icon, a religious concept, and a political concern in the fifteenth century; it was not until the sixteenth century and the Protestant Reformation that the crusade ideal began to wane.⁷ Just how influential humanists were in inspiring pro-crusade attitudes and efforts is difficult, if not impossible, to gauge. But, given the strength of the crusade ideal and fear of the Turks in fifteenth-century Europe, we can be sure that humanists were discussing and publicizing a timely issue that drew a wide readership.⁸ In no way were humanists’ concerns about the Turks and calls for crusade falling on deaf ears.

Another perception that has inhibited the study of humanist texts on the Turks and crusade is the belief that humanists lacked sincerity and regarded crusade as nothing more than “a golden opportunity for rhetorical exercises.”⁹ The problem with this theory is that it fails to confront so much evidence to the contrary. Several prominent humanists devoted significant portions of their careers to the crusade cause, and a number of humanists reflect their concerns about the Turkish advance in personal letters.¹⁰ As Housley has recently argued, “a polished Latin prose style and genuine enthusiasm were not mutually exclusive attributes.”¹¹

Although the effectiveness of humanist calls for crusade and the sincerity behind them are interesting and worthwhile questions, they obscure a much more crucial historical problem that needs to be unfolded and explicated. The rhetoric in humanist texts on crusade and the Turks is rich with images of civilization against barbarism and West against East—concepts that Edward Said examines in his analysis of "Orientalist" scholars of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, who studied and wrote on the Near East and its inhabitants.¹² Their Orient was a "textual universe"—something to be studied and interpreted, but never understood on its own terms.¹³ Most of these attempts to interpret and represent the Orient resulted in artificial and distorted depictions of Islam and the East as inferior to Europe and the West in practically every way.¹⁴

Fifteenth-century humanists approached the Turks in much the same way; they crafted a misguided yet highly intellectual vision of the Muslim world as culturally inferior to European civilization. Said, however, sees the experiences of imperialism and colonialism as essential factors in shaping a body of rhetoric, or "discourse," on the Muslim East; knowledge and power, he argues, are inextricable in this regard.¹⁵ In other words, European political and economic hegemony were preconditions of Orientalist discursive constructions. Said's formula, while useful in many ways, can also be restricting. I will argue that imperialism need not accompany the creation of an intellectual discourse on the Muslim East: centuries before European imperialism in the East, humanists were fashioning a scholarly discourse of their own that influenced modern Western views of Muslim culture.

Renaissance humanists were not writing in a vacuum; they must be seen as representing concerns and attitudes of their time. In turn, humanists must also be regarded as instrumental in shaping Western perceptions of Islamic peoples in general, and the Turks in particular. Humanist rhetoric represents a formative moment in the history of Western attitudes, in that it brought about the first major challenge to medieval perceptions of the Turks and Islam, which were generally religious in tone, and marked a shift toward modern, secular attitudes and constructs. As such, humanist discourse significantly shaped the way modern westerners imagined and discussed the Muslim East. This humanist discourse is similar to Said's Orientalist discourse in that it involves a group of intellectuals who were at once sharing in and creating learned, political, and to an extent, popular, images of the Other. Although Renaissance Europeans had not yet imposed physical power upon the Near East, humanists were beginning to assert a sense of European intellectual power and authority over Muslim societies.

Central to the ways in which humanists challenged medieval perceptions of the Turks and refigured them in more secular and modern terms was the preoccupation with classical motifs. Humanists revived classical rhetoric and

employed it in the wholly new context of the Turkish threat and crusade. With the fall of Constantinople in 1453, humanists compared the Turks to the rampaging Goths, Vandals, and Lombards who were blamed for the destruction of ancient Rome. But the application of classical examples to the Turks and crusade did not emerge overnight in 1453; it began a century earlier with Petrarch. Arguably the first humanist, Petrarch may have been the first thinker to address the topics of crusade and the Muslims—in this case, the Mamlukes—in classical terms. He does this most strikingly in book IX of *De vita solitaria* (begun in 1346). Seeking a role model for crusaders, he chooses not Godfrey or St. Louis or even Charlemagne, but the great pagan general, Julius Caesar:

... if Julius Caesar should come back from the lower regions, bringing with him his former spirit and power, and if, living in Rome, that is, his own country, he should acknowledge the name of Christ as he doubtless would, do you think he would any longer suffer the Egyptian thief . . . to possess not alone Jerusalem and Judea and Syria but even Egypt and Alexandria . . . ?¹⁶

Petrarch's message is that Christians of true valor and courage should not suffer the Holy Land, the Christian patrimony, to be overrun by Muslim "thieves." Although Caesar was a pagan, and his morals were questionable to Christians (i.e., his affair with Cleopatra), Petrarch can find no better example for his contemporaries: "I admire his force and energy and declare it necessary to our own time."¹⁷

Still, the hesitancy in Petrarch's words is palpable. Petrarch takes pains to attach an aura of Christianity to Caesar, and otherwise to defend his decision to invoke him as a paragon for crusaders. He does this because the use of classical and pagan figures in crusading discourse was still unorthodox and novel; it may even be seen as a challenge to the Christian message of crusade. Petrarch was quite conscious of the novelty of his approach, hence his hesitancy. But it was this new classical approach to crusade rhetoric that made the topic more interesting and approachable to later humanists. Petrarch's example of equating ancient heroes and victories with crusade would be taken up by subsequent humanists with greater enthusiasm and less ambivalence.¹⁸

Another example of Petrarch's use of classical motifs is found in his Canzone XXVIII, "O aspettata in ciel beata e bella," a crusade poem written on the occasion of Philip VI's decision to join an expedition to the East in 1333.¹⁹ Franco Cardini sees the poem as an illustration of the conflict of civility and barbarism, not so much between Christianity and Islam as between Europe and Asia in the Herodotean sense.²⁰ "Oriente" and "occidente" appear in the poem on a number of occasions, by which Petrarch constructs an image of "us versus them." Petrarch asserts the superiority of Europeans to the "backward"

Muslims in a verse that contrasts the Northern European warrior spirit of the people who live in a land "that always lies in ice and frozen in the snows, all distant from the path of the sun" to the softness of the Muslim peoples: "Turks, Arabs, and Chaldeans . . . a naked, cowardly, and lazy people who never grasp the steel but entrust all their blows to the wind."²¹ Here, Petrarch has reduced formidable Muslim empires to an image of disorganized and uncivilized hunters and gatherers who rely on archery because they lack the skill and courage to fight in hand to hand combat. Petrarch describes the Arab peoples as the same wild Saracens the Romans encountered a millennium earlier, not the advanced civilization of vast trade networks, great armies, large cities, and extensive learning.

Although Petrarch's attempts to incorporate classical rhetoric and ideas into discussions of crusade and the Muslim peoples were somewhat tentative, an important precedent was set. Classical concepts and crusade were shown to be compatible. Roman heroes, beloved by humanists, could be held up as examples for Christian warriors. More significantly, the rhetoric used to describe the Muslim peoples had expanded beyond the confines of religious terms into more secular terms. Muslims became metaphors for the dangerous and foreign Asia so reviled by ancient Greeks; they came to represent barbarism itself. Petrarch in turn defined the Christian West as the bastion of civilization, manly courage and decency. Some of these ideas may have appeared in some form in medieval crusade rhetoric, but Petrarch was the first scholar to fashion a complete image of West versus East and civilization against barbarism—all through the use of the classics.

The Florentine humanist and chancellor Leonardo Bruni also saw the Muslims, now the Turks who had become the dominant military threat to Christendom, as uncivilized barbarians. He equated the Turks to the barbarian peoples of ancient Roman history in a letter dated 1440–44 to an anonymous recipient, probably Sicco Polenton.²² The letter is an answer to the correspondent's questions regarding Livy's history of Rome. One question that especially occupies Bruni is how many books in Livy's history were lost. Bruni replies that although some 30 books survive, Livy had written over 100. The loss of these books is attributed to the occupation of Italy by the Goths and the Lombards:

To come to your question, assuredly, the cause of the loss, I imagine, is Italy's former affliction by the Goths and the Lombards who oppressed our people with a long invasion and such calamity that they wholly forgot books and studies.²³

During this long servitude—over 364 years, by Bruni's reckoning—the Goths and Lombards destroyed and burned many cities. Studies, which were

in a near desperate state, and books almost perished entirely during this time.²⁴ Here, Bruni echoes Petrarch's vision of the "dark ages," a perception of the Middle Ages that would survive well into our own century.²⁵ But for Bruni the "dark ages" are even darker, since the beginning of this period witnessed not only the loss of Rome's glory—which Petrarch especially laments—but also the loss of so much of its learning. In 1401 Bruni complained that "it would certainly take all day to name those [ancient texts] of which our age has been deprived," citing the specific examples of Varro, Livy, Sallust, Pliny, and Cicero, but at this time he blamed no particular group for these losses.²⁶ By 1441 Bruni was ready to assign guilt for these losses to the Goths and Lombards as a result of his work on Procopius's account of the Italian war against the Goths, which he adapted from Greek into Latin. His familiarity with this source undoubtedly helped him become more acquainted with the Goths than most of his compatriots.²⁷

This image of the Goths and Lombards destroying learned culture, intriguing in and of itself, takes on yet another facet as Bruni compares ancient Rome and its barbaric adversaries to contemporary Greece and its new style barbarians—the Turks:

As it was to a certain degree in Italy then, so it is now in Greece, occupied by the Turks. For the Greek nation is now so afflicted that, among those who were once teachers and leaders of learning, now there are hardly to be found any who have even a rudimentary knowledge of letters.²⁸

A decade before the fall of Constantinople, Bruni accuses the Turks of destroying cities and, in the process, the learning and books they found there. We can develop some perspective on his fears if we consider the number of ancient texts that were being rediscovered in the early fifteenth century by manuscript hunters such as Poggio and Aurispa. Important ancient texts that had been lost for centuries to the West were being recovered and brought back into circulation for the first time since late antiquity. If the original loss of these texts was blamed on the "old barbarians," what might the "new barbarians" do to the treasures of learning if their progress remained unchecked?

This notion of the Turks as threats to learning and high culture became widespread a decade later with the fall of Constantinople in 1453.²⁹ When reports of the siege hit Europe, humanists excoriated the Turks for their destruction of great works of art, especially religious art and architecture.³⁰ But even more interesting than the humanists' laments over lost art and architecture is their grief over reports of lost books. According to Lauro Quirini, a Venetian humanist living in Crete, more than 120,000 volumes were destroyed by the Turks. Quirini attributes this report to Isidore of Kiev, who

was present at the siege and spent some time in Crete shortly thereafter.³¹ Other sources for the siege such as Kritovoulos and Doukas agree that a great number of books that could not be ransomed were burned, thrown away, or ripped apart in order to sell their expensive bindings. Libraries were destroyed and countless books were loaded into carts and sold for a pittance.³²

Humanists were horrified to hear of the loss of so many important books. Quirini saw it as the eradication of a great civilization's achievements: "As a consequence the language and literature of the Greeks, invented, augmented and perfected over so long a period with such labor and industry will certainly perish."³³ Two notions seem to be at work here. First, Constantinople, more than any other Greek outpost, had preserved the Greek language and literature as a *living* language and culture. Second, the loss of so many books in Constantinople would ensure that even the heritage of Greece would vanish. Quirini takes this concept and turns it against the Turks with a slanderous indictment of their way of life. He calls the Turks "a barbaric, uncultivated race, without established customs, or laws, living a careless, vagrant, arbitrary life . . ." ³⁴ Quirini has no hope that a cultural revival can take place in Constantinople so long as this "race of barbarians" rules over it.

Quirini presents an image of the Turks as inimical to high culture and learning. They can neither appreciate nor support the learning and arts of Byzantium, and because they do not understand these achievements, they eradicate them. This notion is further articulated by Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini, humanist, diplomat, and, from 1458 to 64, Pope Pius II. Aeneas wrote more and worked harder for crusade than any humanist. He dedicated his pontificate to organizing a crusade and died while trying personally to lead one. Deeply affected by the fall of Constantinople, he wrote several letters mourning the death of Greek culture and the return of barbarism. In a letter to Nicholas of Cusa he argues that Constantinople was unique among Greek cities in that it thrived continuously from ancient times while other ancient cities crumbled. In all that time, when the city came into enemy hands, basilicas were never destroyed, nor were libraries burnt or monasteries despoiled by enemies of the Christian name.³⁵ The attack by the Turks on the fruits of high culture—libraries and highly decorated churches—is unprecedented, according to Aeneas. Even among the dreaded Persians such destruction of the arts was unthinkable:

Xerxes and Darius, who once afflicted Greece with great disasters, waged war on men, not letters. However much the Romans reduced the Greeks to their power, they not only did not reject Greek letters, but they are reputed to have embraced and venerated them so much that a man was consequently considered to be very learned when he seemed to be thoroughly practiced in Greek speech.³⁶

Aeneas then hammers home the point by adding, "Now under Turkish rule, the opposite will come to pass, for [they are] savage men, hostile to good manners and to good literature."³⁷ Aeneas wonders what manner of men now possess the home of Greek learning: "they are steeped in luxury, study little, and are overcome by laziness. Into whose hands has Greek eloquence fallen, I do not know; who of sound mind does not lament it?"³⁸ Like Quirini, Aeneas sees the fall of Constantinople as the end of Greek learning.

Given the short time and great distance between the composition of Quirini's and Aeneas's letter (15 July, Candia, Crete and 12 August, Graz, Austria, respectively), it is unlikely that Aeneas could have seen or heard of Quirini's letter before he wrote his own. At first glance it seems odd that they would both arrive at the same conclusion regarding the Turks, based on the report of the lost books. Perhaps, though, this was a natural conclusion for humanists to reach. Indeed, a decade before this event Bruni formulated the same hypothesis. Old books and manuscripts were an invaluable resource to humanists, especially rare texts such as ancient Greek works. Aeneas lamented the loss of so many texts "not yet known to the West," calling the fall of Constantinople a "second death for Homer, Pindar, Menander" among others.³⁹ In truth, the city fell when Europeans were only beginning to avail themselves of its rich textual resources.

From only three days of plunder and careless destruction of books that probably meant nothing to the soldiers, the Turks earned a reputation among Western scholars as the worst threat to high culture and learning imaginable. As Aeneas says in his extraordinary letter, they made war on literature. Interestingly enough, it was not only scholars who heard and wrote about these deeds; even popular writers described the loss of learning and books in vernacular popular laments.⁴⁰

Of course, humanists did not perceive the destruction of books and works of art to be the only act of barbarity committed by the Turks at Constantinople. Reports of unrestrained slaughter and rape also found their way west. Some sources claimed that all inhabitants above age six were put to the sword. Such reports were vastly exaggerated.⁴¹ Most of the population, it seems, was taken into captivity where they were held for ransom or enslaved.⁴² Reports of rape are harder to gauge. Westerners, at any rate, readily accepted these rumors and humanists did not miss the opportunity to tell lurid tales of rapes on the high altar of Hagia Sophia in their accounts and letters.⁴³ All things considered, the Turks probably behaved no worse than most captors of their time, Christian or Muslim. What matters to our discussion is that humanists, like most westerners, believed even the most sensationalized reports of violence and savagery that came their way. Niccolò Tignosi, for example, made a pun on the name of the Turks by saying "they are not *teucrici* [Turks] but rather *truces*

[butchers]."⁴⁴ The stereotypes of the "cruel Turk" and the "lustful Turk" were already forming in European imaginations.⁴⁵

After the events of 1453, most humanists came to call the Turks "barbarians," and many saw them as a threat to high culture.⁴⁶ As a result, such discourse about the Turks as inimical to learning and the arts became more and more common. Already in 1454 Donato Acciaiuoli, Florentine humanist and statesman, used rhetoric similar to that found in Aeneas's celebrated letter. Writing to John Argyropoulos, a Greek refugee and eminent scholar who escaped Constantinople during the siege, he invites him to live in Florence "where no barbarians or insolent men live, but rather civilized men . . . of good morals."⁴⁷ Only in a setting like this did humanists believe scholarship could thrive.

Decades later, Florentine humanist Marsilio Ficino would use the same imagery of the Turks as enemies of learning. In August of 1480, Ficino wrote a letter entitled "An exhortation to war against the barbarians" to King Matthias Corvinus of Hungary, seeking his aid against Ottoman forces that had taken the Apulian city of Otranto.⁴⁸ Rather than discuss the actions of Turkish troops at Otranto,⁴⁹ Ficino chooses to dwell on the role the Turks were believed to have played in the decline of Greek scholarship:

In former times all these people [Greek philosophers, poets, orators, historical writers] sought nothing other than true glory and light with the highest zeal. At length, after many generations of light, they have fallen down into darkness under the ferocious Turks. Alas what pain! Stars, I say, have fallen into darkness under savage beasts. Alas, the celestial lights of liberal teaching and arts have for a long time lain in limbo, or, rather, in a place far more darkly covered than limbo.⁵⁰

This appeal may seem rather strange at first, but Matthias was renowned as a patron of the arts and learning.⁵¹ Ficino's appeal to Matthias to battle the Turks "who trample with dirty feet on the disciplines of all laws and liberal arts . . . and on Holy Religion"⁵² establishes Matthias as a protector of civilization and high culture against ignorant beasts. Ficino's plea may very well have hit its mark. In 1481 Otranto was recovered with the help of Matthias's troops under the command of Blaise Magyar.⁵³

From Bruni's time on, fifteenth-century humanists tended to view and describe the Turks in classical terms as "new barbarians."⁵⁴ So common did the term become in the years after the fall of Constantinople that "barbarian" became a cognomen for "Turk." The Turks had been refigured as the latest and most dangerous of the barbarian hordes to menace European security since late antiquity.⁵⁵ Despite the achievements of the Ottoman military, the prestige of the sultan's court, and the efficiency of the Ottoman

Empire, humanists chose to paint the Turks as an uncivilized, arbitrary race of nomads. More specifically, the Turks' destruction of books, and the diaspora of Greek scholars, earned the Turks the label of enemies of learning and high culture.

Since a people's origins were widely held to dictate their destiny, some humanists attempted to prove that the Turks were descended from "barbarian stock," namely the ancient Scythians. In his *Cosmographia* (1458–60) Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini draws the connection between the Turks and Scythians, describing the Scythians as "a fierce and ignominious people, fornicators, engaging in all manner of lewdness and frequenters of brothels, who ate detestable things: the flesh of mares, wolves, vultures, and what is even more horrifying, aborted human fetuses."⁵⁶ Aeneas's emphasis on the unusual diet attributed to the Scythians echoes a common trope of ancient historiography that automatically described nomads as "eaters of flesh" and "drinkers of milk," unlike civilized agrarian folk who consumed bread and wine.⁵⁷ Fanciful descriptions of the flesh eaten by the Scythians and their wild sexual habits helped to complete the image of the Turks' ersatz ancestors as perverse and immoral, as well as backward.

It should be noted that humanist interest in the origins of the Turks had a more positive effect in its impact on historiographical approaches to the Turks. Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini and Francesco Filelfo both commissioned Greek scholars to write histories of the Turks so that they might learn more about them.⁵⁸ Aeneas and Filelfo probably mined these works for polemical material, but their early efforts in historiography induced later humanists to find better sources so as to study the Turks more closely and to write better histories. Humanist histories published in the sixteenth century by Andrea Cambini and Francesco Sansovino demonstrate a real interest and even respect for the powerful Turks, regardless of their perceived origins.⁵⁹

From the texts we have examined thus far, humanists would appear to have employed classical rhetoric and history only to degrade the Turks by describing them as savage barbarians who were hostile to high culture. While this is true for the majority of humanists, on some occasions a more neutral or even positive picture of the Turks resulted from the application of classical motifs. Coluccio Salutati, Florentine chancellor from 1375 to 1406, expressed his admiration for the Turks on one important occasion.⁶⁰ In a letter of 1397, Salutati discusses the threat the Turks posed to Christendom, rendered disunited and vulnerable by the papal schism.⁶¹ While Europeans are fighting amongst themselves, he argues, the unified Turks are expanding their empire with their formidable military machine. He describes and praises at length the austerity and rigor of Turkish military life, and, what is more shocking, he even praises the *devshirme*, or "boy tribute."⁶² By this system, the Ottomans periodically required subject Christ-

ian populations to supply the army with boys of a certain age for the janissary military corps; they were reared in the military and in the faith of Islam.⁶³ Few of Salutati's Christian contemporaries shared his enthusiasm for this system.

Salutati's encomium of the Turks takes another extraordinary turn when he compares them to the ancient Romans: "believe me, when I observe the customs, life and institutions of this race of men, I remember the religious practice and customs of the mighty Romans."⁶⁴ Coming from a humanist such as Salutati, who held the ancient Romans up as an example for his own society, this statement is truly remarkable. Salutati could easily have depicted the Turks as savages or monsters in order to frighten Christians into healing the schism, but instead he chose to exalt them in a fashion resembling Tacitus's treatment of the Germanic peoples. Salutati saw the Turks as a simple, but noble warrior society; they were far from barbaric in his estimation. If anything, it was their lack of cultural refinement and freedom from decadence that made the Turks so virtuous a people.

Almost a century later, another Italian humanist, Giovanni Mario Filelfo, wrote an epic poem praising the Turks, and especially their leader, Sultan Mehmed II. This poem, entitled *Amyris*, was written between 1471 and 1476 for a merchant from Ancona, Othman Lillo Ferducci. Ferducci had family connections to the Ottoman rulers and asked Filelfo to write a work exalting the sultan in order to obtain his favor.⁶⁵ The poem describes Mehmed's life from his youth, chronicling his conquests and achievements, with the addition of some unusual classical references. The use of classical themes to praise an individual was common in humanist compositions, but Filelfo's choice of material was quite striking. Drawing on a medieval legend that seemed to place the Turks among the descendants of the defeated Trojans, Filelfo described Mehmed as a descendant of Priam, and his people as the rightful heirs to Phrygia (Asia Minor), the land stolen from them by the treacherous Greeks.⁶⁶

In Book I of the *Amyris*, the Roman goddess of war, Bellona, meets the young Mehmed and offers him a future of glory as a warrior.⁶⁷ In order to persuade him, Bellona describes the injustices done to Mehmed's ancestors (*tui parentes*) by the Greeks in the Trojan War, such as enslavement of the people and usurpation of their homeland. All this was done for a lascivious woman (*pro muliere . . . lasciva*) like Helen.⁶⁸ Bellona goes on to assert the Turks' birthright to ancient Troy:

Who does not know by now that your ancestors are of Phrygian stock? . . . Othman⁶⁹ was begotten from this race, derived from Priam's stock. You are the descendant of Priam, and the distinctions of once unconquerable blood-line which were lost by fraud, accompany you.⁷⁰

Filelfo's rhetoric of the Trojan-Greek vendetta culminates in Mehmed's triumphal entrance into Constantinople when he has the sultan declare: "You [Thracians] were once Greek subjects; will now bear the rule of the ancient Phrygians, under a new king with a new law."⁷¹

Besides providing the Turks with a distinguished bloodline and claim to Asia Minor and Greece, the Trojan legend adds a veneer of nobility to the Turks' image. All of these ideas represent a striking departure from most humanist thought regarding the Turks, or the *barbari* as they were generally called. Filelfo's pro-Ottoman sentiments in the *Amyris*, however, are questionable. His poem is blatantly anti-Greek as well as pro-Turk, but Filelfo himself was part Greek, and the son of Francesco Filelfo, who tended to denigrate the Turks. Even more importantly, Giovanni made some additions to this poem and later rededicated it as a crusade exhortation to Galeazzo Maria Sforza, duke of Milan.⁷² In truth, Filelfo may not have relished the idea of the destruction of the Greek nation or believed Mehmed to be the best and noblest of all rulers, but this does not preclude a certain admiration for this bold new empire and its vigorous and brilliant young ruler.

Even Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini was capable of expressing admiration for the Turks on rare occasions. During his pontificate, Aeneas wrote a most unusual epistle to Mehmed II (1461), ostensibly offering to legitimate the sultan's claims to Christian areas in exchange for Mehmed's conversion to Christianity. Scholars have widely debated the motives behind this pacifistic letter. Many take it at face value as a sincere attempt to bring peace to Eastern Europe and the Mediterranean and to unify Christendom.⁷³ Aeneas's letter, however, was never sent to the sultan; instead it was widely circulated in Europe. This fact, when placed in the context of Aeneas's hostility toward the Turks in every other composition he wrote concerning them, leads other scholars to believe that Aeneas never meant to send the letter to Mehmed. Rather, his intended audience from the start were Christian princes who might be shamed or frightened into crusade in order to prevent Mehmed from gaining even more power.⁷⁴ Even Aeneas's tone in the letter seems to indicate that he was not trying to reach the sultan. In general, he is gracious and generous, but a closer look reveals a condescending and antagonistic attitude when discussing intellectual and religious matters, especially when describing Islam and Muslim culture. All things considered, it seems unlikely that Aeneas had given up hope for a crusade when he wrote this letter.

Aeneas's use of classical motifs in this letter offers a surprising contrast to other works. Rather than invoking classical rhetoric and history to attack the Turks, he uses classical themes to draw favorable parallels to the Turks and their leader. A dramatic example appears in Book 3 when Aeneas compares Mehmed II to none other than the Emperor Constantine. Aeneas names several examples of pagan rulers who risked everything to follow Christ. He goes on to say:

But why do we delay and not mention the greatest example of all? The Emperor and Monarch, Constantine himself, opened the way which you and all like you could have entered without delay.⁷⁵

Although Constantine anticipated opposition from the Senate and the people, and feared that supporting Christianity would lead to his downfall, he placed his hope in God. As a result, Aeneas argues, he prospered more than ever and came to be considered "the greatest and highest of all the Caesars."⁷⁶

By offering the example of Constantine to Mehmed, Aeneas intimates that such glory is within Mehmed's reach, should he only convert. Just as Constantine earned a place of glory in Greek and Latin letters, so will Mehmed's "praises . . . ring in Greek, Roman and barbarian literature. No mortal will surpass [him] in power and glory."⁷⁷ Not only does Aeneas praise Mehmed in classical terms, but he also praises the Turks by exalting their supposed Scythian origins. The Scythians were, he claims in this letter, "a society of brave men," who were "bold and great" and possessed a number of "many renowned warriors who held Asia in tribute for many centuries and who pushed the Egyptians beyond the swamps."⁷⁸ This description is a complete reversal of Aeneas's attitude toward the Scythians in the *Cosmographia* where he depicted them as immoral savages.⁷⁹

What we can learn from Aeneas's inconsistency regarding the Turks is that figuring them through the classical lens was often a source of tension for humanists, even for so ardent a polemicist as Aeneas. On the one hand, the Turks were seen as barbaric enemies of civilization and the faith; on the other hand they had a fantastic military machine and an enormous empire. They could not help but provoke respect from humanists now and then. Whatever result Aeneas hoped to achieve with his letter to Mehmed II, he found a way to frame the Turks in a flattering manner by using classical comparisons, just as he had denigrated them by using similar sources in his other works. More than anything, Aeneas's letter and Giovanni Mario Filelfo's *Amyris* should prove to us the malleability of classical texts, history, and concepts as they were applied to the Turks. Most humanists employed the classics in order to vilify the Turks, but, as we have seen with Salutati, Filelfo, and Aeneas, this was not always the case. On occasion, the Turks were depicted by humanists as a virtuous society of brave warriors, worthy of comparison to ancient Romans and Trojans.

Given humanism's foundation in the study of Greek and Roman texts, humanists naturally tried to apply classical rhetoric, ideas and history to any subject they treated, even crusade and the Turks—topics that had once seemed to be integrally connected with the language of religion or chivalry. Humanists felt most comfortable addressing the topics of the Turks and crusade in classical terms. As a result, their work was innovative and compelling. To Bruni and Ficino, the Turks were replicas of the ancient barbarians—nomadic, destructive

hordes upon great cities only to destroy them and their culture. To Salutati, the Turks embodied the austerity, valor, and military genius of the ancient Romans better than contemporary Europeans. This positive reaction to the Turks was repeated by Niccolò Machiavelli in 1513. In *The Prince*, Machiavelli expressed admiration for the organization of the Turkish state and military, without getting bogged down in religious rhetoric and concerns, thereby proving how easy and acceptable it had become for scholars and politicians to frame the Turks within a secular context by the early sixteenth century.⁸⁰

Humanist classical interpretations of the Turks survive today in a number of ways. On the one hand, fifteenth-century Italian humanists employed classical rhetoric to polemicize and marginalize the Turkish Other. As in the phenomenon of Said's "Orientalism," the Turks and their culture were objectified. Humanists used the Turks to define themselves and to create a vision of European virtue and enlightenment in contrast to the supposed wickedness and dark barbarity of their adversaries. Some of these humanist ideas played a role in forming negative cultural stereotypes of the Turks—images that have survived into the modern era.⁸¹ Even the Muslim community at large is still, at times, depicted by Western writers as backward and uncultured—a remnant of ideas formulated by Renaissance humanists.⁸²

On the other hand, some humanists used classical themes to praise and glorify the Turks. By removing the obstacle of Christian militancy, humanists like Salutati, Filelfo, and to a lesser extent Aeneas, were able to relativize the achievements of the Turks. Instead of dismissing the Turks as the infidel, they were shown to be worthy and admirable adversaries; their religion was of less importance.⁸³ In their unity and strength, the Turks could be seen as an example to the quarrelsome and divided peoples of Europe.

For the first time, a large body of scholars examined the Turks and crusade in classical terms. While humanists did not completely reject the religious rhetoric of holy war and "enemies of the faith," this vision was supplemented by more secular discussions of culture and politics. When the Protestant Reformation challenged the validity of a holy war directed by the papacy, humanist constructions persevered in secular rhetoric regarding the Turks and other Muslim nations.⁸⁴ Humanists offered Europeans, particularly intellectuals and statesmen, an alternative discourse on the Turks, who could now be framed in cultural or political terms. The discourse of East and West was also offered by humanists as a provocative approach to Muslim and European relations and conflicts. Humanist perceptions of the Turks have influenced modern thought regarding Islamic cultures because they provided a more secular outlook. This outlook greatly appealed to early modern and modern Europeans who were increasingly divided on the question of religion, and increasingly influenced by secular humanism and rhetoric.

Notes

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1. "Vereor ne Vandalorum aut Gothorum tempora redeant . . ." Letter to Pietro da Noceto, 25 July, 1453, from *Poggio Bracciolini: Lettere*, vol. III, ed. Helene Harth (Florence, 1987), 158. English translations throughout this article, unless otherwise noted, are my own.
2. The fall of Constantinople elicited the greatest response from ecclesiastical and lay powers as well as scholars, but earlier Christian defeats at Nicopolis (1396) and Varna (1444) also elicited some concern and calls for crusade.
3. Renaissance humanism has been defined in many ways, but most scholars agree that it was marked by the study of classical texts, rhetoric, history, and concepts. It is this application of classical motifs to the Turks and crusade that I find to be essential in shaping the unique perspectives of Renaissance humanists regarding these issues. By no means, however, do I wish to deny the conscious use of medieval and religious rhetoric in several humanist texts. The medieval legacy and religious influences are discussed respectively in chapters 3 and 6 of my dissertation.
4. Robert Black provides an excellent bibliography of humanist works dealing with crusade and the Turks in *Benedetto Accolti and the Florentine Renaissance* (Cambridge, 1985), chapter 9.
5. Black, *Benedetto Accolti*, outlines this body of humanist literature, and analyzes the work of one humanist in particular—Benedetto Accolti, chancellor of Florence (1458–64). James Hankins also provides a useful introduction to humanist writing on crusade and the Turks in "Renaissance Crusaders: Humanist Crusade Literature in the Age of Mehmed II" in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 49 (1995): 111–207. I would like to thank Professor Hankins for sharing the manuscript of this article with me.
6. See Black, *Benedetto Accolti*, chapter 9, for an account of the Florentine Republic's support for and contributions to crusade.
7. Norman Housley, *The Later Crusades* (Oxford, 1992), 376–420.
8. Housley, *Later Crusades*, 387, points to the large number of manuscripts of crusade treatises that were disseminated throughout Europe.
9. Myron P. Gilmore, *The World of Humanism: 1453–1517* (New York, 1952), 21. Cf. Robert Schwoebel, "Coexistence, Conversion, and the Crusade against the Turks," *Studies in the Renaissance* 12 (1965): 165, n. 4.
10. Pius II, Benedetto Accolti, and Cardinal Bessarion are examples of humanists who labored intensely for crusade. Poggio Bracciolini and Donato Acciaiuoli are among the humanists who discuss the Turks in their letters.
11. Housley, *Later Crusades*, 387.

12. Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York, 1978).
13. Said, *Orientalism*, 52.
14. Said, *Orientalism*, 21.
15. Said, *Orientalism*, 32.
16. "Si hodie Iulius Caesar ab inferis remearet animum illum potentiamque suam referens, et Rome, hoc est in patria sua vivens, ut haud dubie faceret, Cristi nomen agnosceret, diutius ne passurum credimus, quod egiptius latro . . . non dicam Ierosolimam et Iudeam et Syriam, sed ipsam Egiptum atque Alexandriam possideret . . ." Francesco Petrarca, *De vita solitaria*, ed. Marco Noce (Milan, 1992), 240; English tr., *The Life of Solitude*, ed. Jacob Zeitlin (Urbana, 1924), 246.
17. ". . . animi vim et acrimoniam illam miror ac necessariam temporibus nostris dico." Noce, *De Vita Solitaria*, 240; Zeitlin, *Life of Solitude*, 246.
18. Flavio Biondo, for example, comfortably uses the ancient Romans as models for crusaders in the dedication of his *Roma Triumphans*. See, *Roma Triumphans, Opera Historica*, (Basel, 1531), 1.
19. See Black, *Benedetto Accolti*, 227; and Franco Cardini, in "La crociata mito politico," *Studi sulla storia e sull'idea di crociata* (Rome, 1983), 210; this article was also published in *Il pensiero politico* 8 (1975): 3–32.
20. Cardini, "La crociata mito politico," 210.
21. "sempre in ghiaccio et in gelate nevi, tutta lontana dal camin del sole"; "Turchi, Arabi e Caldei . . . popolo ignudo, paventoso et lento,/ che ferro mai non strigne,/ ma tutt' i colpi suoi commette al vento"; *Petrarch's Lyric Poems* ed. and trans. Robert M. Durling (Cambridge, 1976), 76–77.
22. Francesco Paolo Luiso, *Studi su L'Epistolario di Leonardo Bruni*, ed. Lucia Gualdo Rosa (Rome, 1980), 160.
23. "Causa vero amissionis, ut ad tuum quaesitum veniamus, illa puto, quod afflicta quondam Italia Gothorum, et Longobardorum longa invasione tanta calamitate nostros homines oppressere, ut omnino librorum, studiorumque obliviscerentur." *Leonardi Bruni Arretini Epistolarum Libri VIII*, ed. Laurentius Mehus (Florence, 1741), 193 (letter XXII of book X).
24. ". . . tam longa servitute vastatis, atque incensis pluribus urbibus, quasi desperatis rebus studia, librique interiere." *Leonardi Bruni Arretini Epistolarum*.
25. Theodor E. Mommsen, "Petrarch's Conception of the 'Dark Ages'" *Speculum* 17 (1942), 226–42.
26. "Dialogues to Pier Paolo Vergerio," in *The Three Crowns of Florence: Humanist Assessments of Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio*, eds. and trans. David Thompson and Alan F. Nagel (New York, 1972), 30.
27. *The Humanism of Leonardo Bruni*, eds. and trans. Gordon Griffiths, James Hankins, David Thompson (Binghamton, 1987), 183. Only in Greek accounts such as Procopius's could this period of history become accessible, Bruni, in *Humanism of Leonardo Bruni*, eds. and trans. Griffiths et al, 196, explains, since "no record had survived [of the Gothic War] among the Latins—only a kind of myth, and this insubstantial and shadowy."

28. "Id tale aliquid fuit tunc in Italia, quale nunc est in Graecia a Turcis occupata. Sic enim nunc afflicta est gens Graecorum, ut qui dudum magistri, et principes studiorum erant, vix nunc reperiantur ex eis, qui primas literas sciant." *Leonardi Bruni Arretini Epistolarum*, 193.
29. For a discussion of Western reactions to the fall of Constantinople see Robert Schwoebel, *The Shadow of the Crescent: The Renaissance Image of the Turk* (New York, 1967), chapter 1. Steven Runciman also provides a history of the siege and a guide to sources in *The Fall of Constantinople 1453* (Cambridge, 1965).
30. Although some areas of the city suffered extensive damage, other quarters of the city and their inhabitants were unscathed by the siege as they voluntarily surrendered and were given the sultan's protection; Runciman, *Fall of Constantinople*, 153. Also, after entering the city in triumph, Mehmed II ordered his troops not to damage any of the buildings, religious or otherwise, in their pillaging; Franz Babinger, *Mehmed the Conqueror and his Time* (Princeton, 1978), 94.
31. Lauro Quirini, Letter to Nicholas V, from *Testi inediti e poco noti sulla caduta di Costantinopoli*, ed. Agostino Pertusi (Bologna, 1983), 74–75; this text may also be found in Pertusi's *Lauro Quirini Umanista* (Florence, 1977), 223–33.
32. Kritovoulos, *The History of Mehmed the Conqueror*, ed. Charles T. Riggs (Princeton, 1954), 74; Doukas, *Decline and Fall of Byzantium to the Ottoman Turks*, ed. Harry J. Magoulas (Detroit, 1975), 240; for Isidore, see Kenneth Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant (1205–1571)*, vol. 2 (Philadelphia, 1978), 131, n.78. Wittek, however, argues that many of these books found their way West through traders. See "An Eloquent Conquest" from *The Fall of Constantinople* (London, 1955), 36.
33. "Ergo et lingua et litteratura Graecorum tanto tempore, tanto labore, tanta industria inventa, aucta, perfecta peribit, heu peribit!" ed. Pertusi, *Testi inediti*, 74.
34. "Gens barbara, gens inculta, nullis certis moribus, nullis legibus, sed fusa, vaga, arbitraria vivens. . . ." Quirini, ed. Pertusi, *Testi inediti*, 76.
35. "Constantinopolis in manus hostium venerit . . . nunquam illa urbe Christiani nominis hostes potiti sunt neque basilice sanctorum destructe sunt neque bibliothecae combuste neque despoliata penitus monasteria." *Der Briefwechsel des Eneas Silvius Piccolomini*, ed. Rudolf Wolkan, from *Fontes rerum austriacarum*, Abt. 2, Bd. 68 (Vienna, 1918), 208.
36. "Xerxes et Darius, qui quondam magnis cladibus Greciam affligere, bellum viris, non litteris intulerunt. Romani, quamvis Greciam in potestatem suam rede-gissent, non solum Grecas litteras aspernati non sunt, sed ultro amplexi veneratique referuntur, adeo, ut tunc quisque doctissimus haberetur, cum Greci sermonis videretur peritissimus esse." *Der Briefwechsel des Eneas Silvius Piccolomini*, 209.
37. "Nunc sub Turchorum imperio secus eveniet, sevissimorum hominum, bonorum morum atque litterarum hostium." *Der Briefwechsel des Eneas Silvius Piccolomini*, 209.

38. "... in libidinem provoluti sunt, litterarum studi parvi faciunt, incredibili fastu superbiunt. in quorum manus venisse Grecam eloquentiam non scio, quis bone mentis non doleat . . ." *Der Briefwechsel des Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini*, 210–11.
39. *Der Briefwechsel des Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini*, 211.
40. Maffeo Pisano's *Lamento di Constantinopoli* is one example of this type of popular literature. See Schwoebel, *Shadow of the Crescent*, 20–21. An edition of the *Lamento* appears in Pertusi's *Testi inediti*.
41. Ed. Agostino Pertusi, *La Caduta di Costantinopoli*, vol. 2 (Rome, 1976), 21. The details of the siege of Constantinople are difficult to assess, but it has been estimated that less than ten percent of the population—4,000 out of an estimated population of 50,000—were killed. Housely, *Later Crusades*, 95.
42. Doukas, a Greek source for the siege, claims that Turkish soldiers who stormed the city later told him that they killed so many men only because they had expected a far greater number of defenders and a hard fight. It was in their best interests to capture rather than kill, as captives could render a handsome profit. *Decline and Fall of Byzantium*, 224–25.
43. See for instance Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini's description of mass rape of all segments of society as well as both sexes in his letter to Leonardo Benvogli-enti, ed. Pertusi, *La Caduta*, vol. 2, 62–64.
44. "non teucris sunt . . . sed potius truces sunt appellandi . . ." Niccolò Tignosi, *Expugnatio Constantinopolitana*, ed. Mario Sensi, "Niccolò Tignosi da Foligno, l'opera e il pensiero," *Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia*, Università degli Studi di Perugia 9 (1971–72), 430.
45. Andrew Wheatcroft, *The Ottomans* (London, 1993), chapters 7 and 8.
46. Schwoebel discusses the humanist designation of the Turks as *barbari* in "Coexistence," 164. W. R. Jones has written an enlightening study entitled "The Image of the Barbarian in Medieval Europe," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 13 (1971): 376–407. He explains that *barbari* was not widely used by Europeans to describe the Muslims until the fifteenth century when they applied it to the Ottoman Turks. (See page 392.)
47. "... ut mea urbe vivere velis, in qua non barbari, non insolentes viri, sed humani domestici, beneque morati homines vitam ducunt." Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Firenze, MS Magliabecchiana VIII, 1390, f. 86r.
48. Cf. Schwoebel, "Coexistence" 165, n. 5.
49. See Babinger, *Mehmed the Conqueror*, 390–92.
50. "Hi enim omnes quum olim summo studio nihil aliud, quam veram gloriam lucemque quaesiverint, tandem post multa lucis secula in tenebras sub saevis Turcis, pro dolor, stellae, inquam, sub truculentis feris in tenebras corruunt. Iacent heu coelestia liberalium doctrinarum artiumque lumina iamdiu in lymbo: imo vero sub loco longe, quam sit lymbus obscuriore." Marsilio Ficino, *Opera Omnia*, vol. I, tome ii, ed. Luigi Firpo (Torino, 1959), 721; English tr., *The Letters of Marsilio Ficino*, vol. II (Liber III) (London, 1978), 4.

51. For a description of Matthias and his court, see Valery Rees, "Hungary's Philosopher King Matthias Corvinus 1458–90," *History Today* 44 (March, 1994): 18–21.
52. "... legum omnium liberaliumque artium disciplinas, atque ... religionem sanctam ... sordissimis pedibus impie calcant." Firpo, 722; *Letters*, 5.
53. Matthias also won a number of important victories that same year against the Turks in Serbia. Rees, "Hungary's Philosopher King," 19; Babinger, *Mehmed the Conqueror*, 394; *The Letters of Marsilio Ficino*, 87, n. 1.
54. The term is used and discussed by Schwoebel, *Shadow of the Crescent*, chapter 6. See also Black, *Benedetto Accolti*, chapter 9.
55. Cardinal Bessarion, for example, equates the Turks with every barbarian nation that invaded Italy in the third of his *Orationes* (1471), which were distributed to European princes as a call for crusade. See J. P. Migne, *Patrologia Graeca* (Cursus Completus), vol. 161, 651–59.
56. "Natio truculenta et ignominiosa in cunctis stupris ac lupanaribus fornicaria: comedit quae caeteri abominantur, iumentorum, luporum, ac vulturum carnes, et quod magis horreas, hominum abortiva ..." *Opera quae extant omnia* (Frankfurt, 1967), 307. For the views of Aeneas and others on Turkish history, see Agostino Pertusi, "I primi studi in occidente sull'origine e la potenza dei Turchi," *Studi Veneziani* 12 (1970): 465–552; see also Michael J. Heath, "Renaissance Scholars and the Origins of the Turks," *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 41 (1979): 453–71.
57. See Brent D. Shaw, "'Eaters of Flesh, Drinkers of Milk': the Ancient Mediterranean Ideology of the Pastoral Nomad," *Ancient Society* 13/14 (1982–83): 5–31. Thanks to Alex Schubert for this reference.
58. See Pertusi, "I primi studi."
59. Eric Cochrane, *Historians and Historiography in the Italian Renaissance* (Chicago, 1981), 332–33. Schwoebel, *Shadow of the Crescent*, also points to the example of Teodoro Spandugino, 209–11, 226.
60. It should be noted here that Salutati had previously expressed more negative sentiments regarding the Turks. He inserted an attack on the Turks and their leader, Murad, in a letter to the king of Bosnia following the battle of Kosovo (1389). A translation of the letter is available in Thomas A. Emmert's *Serbian Golgotha: Kosovo, 1389* (New York, 1990). 45–47. Thanks to Steven Reinert for this reference.
61. The letter was addressed to Iodoco, Margrave of Moravia, but was intended to be circulated at the Diet of Frankfurt. The letter apparently became well known. See: Berthold L. Ullman, *The Humanism of Coluccio Salutati* (Padua, 1963), 79–80; cf. Black, *Benedetto Accolti*, 227.
62. Salutati, *Epistolario di Coluccio Salutati*, ed. Francesco Novati vol. 3 (Rome, 1896), 208–209.
63. Ferdinand Schevill, *A History of the Balkans* (repr. New York, 1991), 182–85.
64. "credite michi: genus hoc hominum, quorum cum mores, vitam et instituta percipio, fortissimorum Romanorum ritum consuetudinesque recordor ..." ed. Novati, *Epistolario*, 209.

65. Giovanni Mario Filelfo, *Amyris*, ed. Aldo Manetti (Bologna, 1978), 19–20; see also Schwoebel, *Shadow of the Crescent*, 148–49.
66. For a description of this legend and further reading, see Heath, “Renaissance Scholars.” See also Terence Spencer, “Turks and Trojans in the Renaissance,” *Modern Language Review* 47 (1952): 330–33.
67. Venus also appears and offers Mehmed a life of pleasure, which he refuses in order to pursue the path of honor and glory in war.
68. Ed. Manetti, *Amyris*, 69–70.
69. Othman or Osman (d. 1326) was the founder of the Ottoman dynasty.
70. “Phrygia nam gente parentes esse tuos, quis nescit adhuc? . . . Othman gente satus, Priamique e stirpe relatus, tu genus es Priami, teque ornamenta sequuntur sanguinis invicti quondam, dein fraude remissi.” ed. Manetti, *Amyris*, 70.
71. “Fuistis denique subiecti Graeci, Phrygiaeque vetustae imperium sub rege novo cum lege feretis.” ed. Manetti, *Amyris*, 129.
72. Schwoebel, *Shadow of the Crescent*, 149.
73. See R. W. Southern, *Western Views of Islam in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, Mass., 1962), 98–103; Franco Gaeta, “Alcune osservazioni sulla prima redazione della «lettera a Maometto»” *Enea Silvio Piccolomini Papa Pio II* (Siena, 1968), 185; and Babinger, *Mehmed the Conqueror*, 198–99.
74. See Franco Cardini, “La Repubblica di Firenze e la crociata di Pio II,” *Rivista storica della Chiesa in Italia* 33 (1979), 471; see also Schwoebel, *Shadow of the Crescent*, 66; “Coexistence,” 179–80.
75. “Sed quid moramur et non exemplum illud adducimus, quod omnium est maximum? Constantinus ipse imperator ac monarcha viam aperuit, quam tu et tui similes ingredi absque ulla cunctatione possetis.” *Epistle to Mohammed II*, ed. and trans. Albert R. Baca (New York, 1990), English, 25; Latin, 130.
76. “Magnificus et excelsus super omnes Caesares inventus . . .” ed. and trans. Baca, *Epistle*, English, 26; Latin, 131. However, not all medieval and Renaissance thinkers held Constantine in such high regard. See Robert Black, “The Donation of Constantine: A New Source for the Concept of the Renaissance?” in *Language and Images of Renaissance Italy* (Oxford, 1995), 51–85.
77. “Latinae et litterae graecae et barbarae celabrabunt: nemo inter mortales erit, qui te potentia aut gloria praecedat.” ed. and trans. Baca, *Epistle*, English, 26–27; Latin, 132.
78. Ed. and trans. Baca, *Epistle*, 74, 180.
79. For this description of the Scythians, Pius probably drew on Book I of Herodotus’ *Histories*, which presents a favorable view of this ancient people. For many ancient, medieval and Renaissance historians, Herodotus was too sympathetic to the barbarians to be of any real use. See Arnoldo Momigliano, “The Place of Herodotus in the History of Historiography,” in *Studies in Historiography* (London, 1966), 133, 138–39. Heath, “Renaissance Scholars,” describes Pius’s use of a late Roman cosmographer, possibly a later medieval forgery, called “Aethicus,” who provided more polemical anecdotes to use against the Scythians in the *Cosmographia*.

80. See, for instance, Book IV of *The Prince* where Machiavelli discusses the strength and unity of the Turkish state, as opposed to the weakness of the French monarchy.
81. Wheatcroft describes early modern and modern Western perceptions of the Turks in *The Ottomans*; see especially chapter 8, "The Terrible Turk."
82. See Said's *Orientalism*, especially 284–328; see also his *Question of Palestine* (New York, 1980), 25–29.
83. Humanists, of course were not the first Europeans to admire the Muslims. Salah al-Din (1137/8–1193) for example gained considerable popularity in the West as a chivalric hero. Still, the prevailing medieval attitude toward Muslims such as Salah al-Din tended to be, as is often repeated in the *Song of Roland*, "If only he were a Christian. . . ."
84. See Housley's discussion of the effect of the Protestant Reformation on the decline of the crusade ideal, *op. cit.*, 379–80.

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CHAPTER ELEVEN

Early Modern Orientalism: Representations of Islam in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Europe

Daniel J. Vitkus

The early modern image of Islam—as seen through Western eyes—is one that has been so radically transformed by time, distance, and cultural mediation that it bears little resemblance to the religion and the culture that it purports to describe. In fact, the representation of Islam in medieval and Renaissance Europe is at times almost the opposite of its alleged original. Through a process of misperception and demonization, iconoclasm becomes idolatry, civilization becomes barbarity, monotheism becomes pagan polytheism, and so on. And yet, these twisted stereotypes are, in a sense, “real.” They are real because, for the vast majority of medieval and early modern Europeans, they served as the only readily available means for understanding (or perhaps we should say, misunderstanding) Islam. These representations are also “real” in the sense that any such representation has a material and ideological impact as a historical phenomenon: it is

a mode of perception that shapes the way people think and therefore the way they act.

During the Middle Ages in Europe, a pattern of representation begins to emerge from various descriptions of the Islamic Other and its society, culture, religion, et cetera. Some of these medieval representations were crude caricatures, such as the figure of Mahound, a pagan tyrant or idol that appears in popular medieval drama; but there were also more sophisticated attempts to describe Islamic culture or religion and to account for its rise and development. Many scholars, including Norman Daniel and W. Montgomery Watt, have distinguished between the “popular” perception of Islamic culture and what has been termed the “learned” account of Islam. At the same time that romance tale tellers were recounting the heroic exploits of Christian knights and crusaders who vanquished sinister Islamic foes, there were those among the educated elites who were studying Islamic theology in order to stop its spread by more peaceful means. These theologians’ treatments of Islam were often produced as part of a polemical project to promote Christianity and to refute Islam. Medieval scholars such as Ricoldo da Monte Croce, Mark of Toledo, Ramon Lull, Ramon Marti, Peter the Venerable, Robert of Ketton, and Hermann of Dalmata, all of them monks or clerics, translated, described, and denounced Islam from the perspective of medieval scholasticism.¹ But even their learned descriptions of Islamic religion are often distortions or fabrications, depicting Islam as heresy or fraud and Muhammad as an impostor. These medieval accounts of Islam form an important foundation, comprising an entire tradition of polemical misrepresentation, for the attitudes taken later by early modern theologians, both Protestant and Catholic.

Why the persistent misrepresentation of Islam, in spite of the availability of more accurate information about Muslim society and theology? The answer is simple: it was the perceived threat of Islam to Christianity that produced the denial or the radical distortion of what Islam really was. From the perspective of Christendom, Islam was an aggressively expanding, competing form of monotheism that sought to subsume and overrule the Gospel of Christ, just as the Christians claimed to have supplanted Judaism by “fulfilling” the Judaic law of the Old Testament. The Islamic claim to supersede a flawed and incomplete Christianity was an unthinkable phenomenon, and so it was denied in various ways, including, in both learned and popular treatments, a definition of Islam as a “pagan” misbelief akin to other forms of idolatrous paganism that Western Europeans associated with the Middle East.

The demonization of the Islamic East is a long and deeply rooted tradition in the West—spanning the centuries, from the early medieval period to the end of the twentieth century. It harks back to ancient representations of Eastern empires and invading hordes that predate Islam, including the As-

syrians and the Persians of the ancient world. The classical and biblical stereotypes that were established in the collective consciousness of the West were further shaped and solidified later by the historical experience of “holy war” that began with the rise of Islam, continued during the period of the crusades, and endured in the era of Spanish Reconquista and Ottoman imperialism. In Western Europe, a long history of military aggression and cultural competition (taking place primarily, but not entirely, in the Mediterranean basin) served as the basis for the prevailing conception of the Islamic “Orient” during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Looking back at the cultural history of Europe, we find a distorted image of Islam first recorded in medieval romances and chivalric “legends” describing armed conflict between Christian and Saracen knights. These texts are generally considered today to be “fictional” and “literary” forms, but it is important to keep in mind that the category of “literature,” as it is popularly defined today, did not come into being until the nineteenth century. For premodern readers and audiences, the distinction between story and history, fiction and fact, legend and chronicle, was not a clear one—if it existed at all. What may appear to us now as an obvious fiction was once received knowledge. For example, romance narratives about chivalric Christian heroes fighting evil Saracen knights, which we might dismiss today as mere fairy tales, were undoubtedly received as “true stories” by most of their audience. Romance tales and legends, including the chansons de geste, late medieval romances like Alexandre du Pont’s *Roman de Mahomet* (1258) and *Sir Beues of Hamtoun* (ca. 1300), as well as early modern texts such as Torquato Tasso’s *Gerusalemme Liberata* (1581), exhibit what Dorothee Metlitzki has called “The assemblage of myth, legend, fact, and propaganda . . . in the literary encounter between Christians and Saracens.”² Metlitzki’s description of these texts is an accurate assessment from the perspective of a modern critic, but the medieval audience would have been far less skeptical. Although the romances and legends featuring Islamic enemies are imaginative, nostalgic rewritings of historical events such as the military exploits of Carolingian Franks or twelfth-century crusaders, these legends, to some degree, comprise a record of the competition and conflict between European-Christian and Arab-Islamic culture. In any case, they record for us a deformed image of Islam that was received as a true one by many Europeans, even in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Thus, there existed even in the medieval and early modern periods a kind of “orientalism” that demonized the Islamic Other.

The orientalist discourse described by Edward Said was not “born” with Napoleon’s invasion of Egypt in 1798³: it began to emerge in an era when the European relationship to the Orient was not yet one of colonial dominance—when, in fact, that relationship was one of anxiety and awe

on the part of the Europeans. In fact, as one scholar has pointed out, "... the creation of the distorted image of Islam was largely a response to the cultural superiority of the Muslims, especially those of al-Andalus."⁴

Before the emergence of capitalism, feudal European society existed in what Samir Amin has termed "the peripheral form of the tributary mode:"⁵

... Until the Renaissance, Europe belonged to a regional tributary system that included Europeans and Arabs, Christians and Moslems. But the greater part of Europe at that time was located at the periphery of this regional system, whose center was situated around the eastern end of the Mediterranean basin.⁶

During the Islamic conquests of the seventh and eighth centuries, and later, at the time of the Ottoman expansion, the Europeans were dominated by Islamic power. While the Christians of Spain, Portugal, England, and other nations were establishing their first permanent colonies in the New World, they faced the threat at home of being colonized by the Ottoman Empire. Thus, the power relations that were in effect in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are the opposite of those that operated later under Western colonial expansion and rule. Many of the images of Islam that were produced by European culture in the early modern period are imaginary resolutions of real anxieties about Islamic wealth and might. The Christian West's inferiority complex, which originated in the trauma of the early Caliphate's conquests, was renewed and reinforced by the emergence of a new Islamic power, the Ottoman Turks, who achieved in 1453 what the Ummayyad armies had failed to accomplish in 669 and 674—the capture of Constantinople. A series of Ottoman invasions and victories followed, including Athens in 1459, Otranto in 1480, Rhodes in 1522, Budapest in 1526, and in 1529 when the Turks pushed on and almost took Vienna, Cyprus in 1571, and Crete in 1669.

The importance of the Turkish threat for early modern Europeans can hardly be underestimated. An English writer, Richard Knolles, in his *History of the Turks* (1603), refers to them as "the scourge of God and present terror of the world."⁷ The Turkish scare, which prevailed throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, strongly affected even the English.⁸ When the news reached England in 1565 that the Turkish siege of Malta had been lifted, a "form of thanksgiving" was ordered by the Archbishop of Canterbury to be read in all churches every Sunday, Wednesday, and Friday.⁹ This special order of service refers to "that wicked monster and damned soul Mahomet" and "our sworn and most deadly enemies the Turks, Infidels, and Miscreants . . . who by all tyranny and cruelty labour utterly to root out not only true religion, but also the very name and memory of Christ our only saviour,

and all Christianity.”¹⁰ Five years later, Christians throughout Europe celebrated and performed prayers of thanks for the victory at Lepanto, but when the defeat of the Turkish fleet proved to be only a temporary setback to Ottoman expansion, a sense of dread returned.

In 1574, Sir Philip Sidney and Fulke Greville traveled together as part of a foreign mission to Don John of Austria (who had commanded the Christian fleet at Lepanto). During this trip, Sidney wrote to Hubert Longuet from Vienna on March 26:

These civil wars which are wearing out the power of Christendom are opening the way for the Turk to get possession of Italy; and if Italy alone were in danger, it would be less a subject for sorrow, since it is the forge in which the cause of all these ills are wrought. But there is reason to fear that the flames will not keep themselves within its frontier, but will seize and devour the neighboring states.¹¹

In the following year, in the dedication to his English translation of Curione's *Sarracenicae Historiae*, Thomas Newton wrote: “They [the Saracens and Turks] were . . . at the very first very far from our clime and region, and therefore the less to be feared, but now they are even at our doors and ready to come into our houses. . . .”¹² Another English tract on the Turks, printed in 1597, reports that “. . . the terrour of their name doth even now make the kings and Princes of the West, with the weake and dismembred reliques of their kingdomes and estates, to tremble and quake through the feare of their victorious forces.”¹³

Despite such fears about a nightmare scenario of Islamic expansion, the European attitude toward the Ottoman threat was not simply and universally one of fear and loathing (as we see from Sidney's rather cheerful allusion to a possible Turkish conquest of Italy). As long as their Roman Catholic enemies were the ones who were suffering at the hands of the Ottomans, it was not, from the Protestant point of view, an altogether negative phenomenon. The Turks were often seen by the Protestants as God's scourge for papal pride, and some expressed a hope that the rival powers of Pope and Sultan would annihilate each other, leaving a power vacuum that might be filled by an expansion of the Protestant Reformation. This kind of wishful thinking became part of the apocalyptic rhetoric of radical Protestantism.

Some historians have called the Turks “allies of the Reformation” because the Ottoman campaigns in central Europe helped to divert the military energies and economic resources of the Papal-Hapsburg powers who wished to root out the Lutherans and other “heretics.”¹⁴ In fact, the Turkish authorities were more tolerant of Protestantism than were many of the Roman Catholic princes, and Ottoman rule in the Balkans was generally

less exploitative than that of the Roman Catholic nobles who had held power there before the Ottoman invasions. Thus it was that Balkan peasants in the sixteenth century used the saying, "Better the turban of the Turk than the tiara of the Pope."¹⁵ It was the Ottoman threat that forced Charles V and his German allies to concede freedom of religious practice to Lutheran sectarians during the crucial period of the 1520s and 1530s.¹⁶

In 1518, Luther had been accused in the papal bull of excommunication of a heretical opposition to a crusade against the Turks. Luther, like many other preachers, both Protestant and Catholic, believed that "The Turks are the people of the wrath of God," come to scourge Christians for their sins. In his response to the Pope, however, Luther defended the principle that "to fight the Turks is to resist the judgment of God upon men's sins." Although Luther's position may well have been an objection "less to fighting against the Turk than to fighting under papal leadership," it implies that to fight the Turk is to resist the will of God.¹⁷ Later, as the Turkish invaders drew closer to Germany, Luther was forced to defend his position. In a series of sermons and writings on the Turks and their religion, he advocated a united resistance against the Ottoman advance.

Luther's attitude toward Islam must be seen in light of the Protestant critique of papal authority, and in the context of the Protestant struggle for survival against the Hapsburg effort to stamp out the new heresy. The Protestant attack on the papal theory of crusade was part of the assault on the Pope's prerogative and the Roman Catholic penitential system (especially the indulgences that were granted to crusaders). Despite this hostility to the notion of a holy war led by the Pope, Protestants in England, at least, did not abandon the principle of a just war, waged by the "common corps of Christendom" to defend against the predations of the Turkish infidel.¹⁸

Drawing upon the language of the Book of Revelation, Protestants often described the wars against Roman Catholic rule and religion as crusades against the "second Turk," the Antichrist, or the Eastern "whore of Babylon." In *Table Talk*, Luther is quoted as saying,

Antichrist is at the same time the Pope and the Turk. A living creature consists of body and soul. The spirit of Antichrist is the Pope, his flesh the Turk. One attacks the Church physically, the other spiritually.¹⁹

In a 1587 sermon at Paul's Cross in London, William Gravet, a Protestant divine, made a historical claim for the link between Pope and Turk, claiming that "the popes supremacie and Mahumets sect began both about one time (as is to be seene in the histories) and that was somewhat more than 600 yeeres after Christ . . ." and therefore "Mahumetisme may go cheeke by joule with them."²⁰

While Luther and other Protestants compared the Roman Catholic church and the pope to Turkish infidels, Catholic polemicists sought to tar Protestants with the same brush. In polemical writings, as well as official pronouncements, popes, princes, and Roman Catholic clergymen compared their religious duty to fight the Lutheran heresy with their obligation to pursue a crusade against Islam.²¹ In 1526, a proposal for a “general crusade” for “the repelling and ruin . . . of the infidels and the extirpation of the Lutheran sect” was included in the Treaty of Madrid signed by Charles V and Francis I.²² In a 1536 anti-Protestant tract dedicated to Charles V, the English Cardinal Reginald Pole imagined Charles defeating the Turks in a crusade and then returning home, only to find that

new turkes be rysen and sprong up amongst us at home. For what other thing ar the turkes than a certain secte of christians, which in tyme past have shrounk and gone away from the catholyke church . . . ? The orygyneall and begynnyng of the turkes relygion is all one with all other heresydes.²³

While Protestants and Catholics called each other infidels and Turks, they both continued to call for a united crusade against the real Turks. Papists and Protestants alike saw the expansion of the Ottoman Empire and Islamic control of Jerusalem as a consequence of God’s judgment upon Christian sinners, the manifestation of a providential scheme that had shaped imperial history in accordance with the divine will.

In the sixteenth century, incessant warfare between the Christian states of Europe and religious war in France served to intensify the exhortations for Christian unity and a crusade against the Turks. Melanchthon, in the preface to *De origine imperii Turcorum* (1560), declares “We behold the Turkish power being extended over the human race while the kings and other princes of Europe dissipate their strength in domestic warfare. In the meantime the Turks move onward.”²⁴ In his *Discours Politiques et Militaires*, written in prison during the late 1580s, a Huguenot captain, Francis de la Noue, called for a general crusade to unite Catholics and Protestants in an effort to retake Constantinople.²⁵ During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the call for a crusade became a rhetorical formula frequently employed but rarely leading to large-scale military mobilization against the Ottomans.²⁶ It was increasingly a subject for imaginative nostalgia rather than a concerted action.

A typical sixteenth-century plea for such a holy war occurs in Camoens’s Portuguese epic, *Os Lusíadas* (first published in 1572):

O wretched Christians, are you perchance but the dragon’s teeth that Cadmus sowed, that you thus deal death to one another, being all sprung from a common

womb? Do you not see the Holy Sepulchre in the possession of dogs of infidels who, strong in their unity, are advancing even against your native soil and covering themselves with glory in the field? You know that with them it is both custom and obligation . . . to hold their restless forces together by waging war on Christian peoples; while among you the Furies never weary of sowing their hateful tares.²⁷

Here, the formulaic plea for Christian unity and a crusade against Islam is, ironically, a call to imitate the Turks' military and moral discipline.

In poetry, in sermons, and in religious polemic, early modern Europeans demanded an all-out war against the Turks, but at the same time some Christian monarchs were openly allied to the forces of Islam. During the sixteenth century, the French monarchy began a long period of friendly relations with the Grande Porte, and after the Venetians they were the next to be granted commercial capitulations by the Ottoman sultan.²⁸

In Protestant England, Elizabeth I was to pursue a policy of commercial and military alliance with the Ottoman sultanate, especially during the period of open hostility to Spain. In 1585 her powerful councilor Walshingham instructed William Harborne, the English ambassador to the Sultan, to urge a military alliance between England and the Turks. Walshingham hoped for a Turkish attack on Spain that would "divert the dangerous attempt and designs of [the Spanish] King from these parts of Christendom."²⁹ But more than that, Walshingham expressed the hope that Spain and Turkey, the two "limbs of the Devil," might weaken each other and allow for "the suppression of them both."³⁰

Not surprisingly, prophecies of Turkish doom were popular throughout Europe during the early modern period. These texts often referred to the Book of Revelation and sometimes identified Muhammad with the Antichrist. They predicted 1) the recovery of all lands lost to the Turks, and their conversion to Christianity; or 2) they foretold the ultimate downfall of the Turks, but often after further victories, sometimes including the capture of Italy before they would be turned back. Many of these prognostications also named a specific monarch or prince (such as Charles V) as the leader of a victorious crusade. These prophecies had a particularly eager audience in Germany and Italy, but they were widespread (some even circulated in Istanbul), and Europeans were "fed for generations" on such predictions about the Turks.³¹

While popular prophecies foretold the downfall of the Ottoman Empire, the fear of a black planet—of mass conversion to Islam—increased in intensity. A typical example of the Europeans' anti-Islamic polemic describes the Turks as hell-bent "to the enlarging and amplifying of their Empire and religion, with the dayly accesse of new and continuall conquests by the ruine and subversion of all such kingdomes, provinces, estates and professions, as

are any way astraunged from them either in name, nation, or religion."³² The Turks seem capable of converting the entire world to their religion:

they doe think . . . that they are bound by all meanes as much as in them lyeth, to amplifie and increase their religion in all partes of the worlde, both by armes and otherwise: And that it is lawfull for them to enforce and compell, to allure, to seduce, and to perswade all men to the embracing of their sect and superstitions: and to prosecute all such with fire and sword, as shall either oppose themselves against their Religion, or shall refuse to conforme and submit themselves to their ceremonies and traditions. And this they doe to the intent the name and doctrine of their Prophet Mahomet may bee everywhere, and of all nations, revered and embraced. Hence it is that the Turkes doe desire nothing more then to drawe both Christians and others to embrace their Religion and to turne Turke. And they do hold that in so doing they doe God good service, bee it by any meanes good or badde, right or wrong.³³

For the early modern Europeans, the idea of "turning Turk" (converting to Islam) was a sensational subject that inspired anxious fascination.³⁴

Interest in the Turks and Islam was on the rise. European readers were offered numerous descriptions of the "Great Turk" and his court, and the quantity of material printed on the Ottomans, their culture and religion, increased enormously in the seventeenth century. This vast literature on Islam includes a genre that gained in popularity at this time: captivity narratives describing the sufferings of Christians who were taken prisoner and enslaved by the Turks or Moors were printed and read throughout Europe. Christian captives recounted their endurance of Turkish or Moorish cruelty and their heroic refusal to convert.³⁵ In many such accounts, the narrators told of their service as galley slaves or laborers. In 1590, for example, the English gunner Edward Webbe published an account of his capture by the Tartars in Moscow and his subsequent enslavement in the Crimea and Turkey from 1571 to 1588. He describes the condition of the Christian captives living in Turkey:

[The] poore captives . . . are constrained to abide most vilde and grievous tortures, especially the torture and torment of consciens which troubled me and all true Christians to the very soule: for the Turk by al meanes possible would still perswade me and my other fellow Christians while I was there the time of 13 yeares, to forsake Christ, to deny him, and to believe in their God Mahomet: which if I would have done, I might have had wonderfull preferment of the Turke, and have lived in as great felicitie as any Lord in that countrey: but I utterly denyed their request, though by them greivously beaten naked for my labour, and reviled in most detestable sort, calling me dogge, divell, hellhound, and suchlike names: but I give God thanks he gave me strength to abide with patience these crosses.³⁶

There were also numerous printed narratives describing the exploits of renegades and pirates who had willingly gone over to join the Moors and become part of the privateering communities in Algiers, Tunis, Tripoli, Salée, and other North African ports.³⁷ While these “true stories” about captives and renegades were being published, fictional texts (including romance narratives, epic poetry, and plays) continued to feature the downfall of “bad Muslims” and the conversion of “good Muslims” to Christianity.³⁸ A stock plot from European romance narrative features a Muslim princess who falls in love with a Christian knight, opens the castle of her father, the Sultan, so that the Christian knights can capture it in a surprise attack; she converts, they get married—and the Sultan either converts or is killed.³⁹ On the English stage, in plays such as Robert Daborn’s *A Christian Turn’d Turk* (1612) and Philip Massinger’s *The Renegado* (1624), Christians convert to Islam and pay a terrible price for doing so. In the early modern fiction of Europe, the only good Muslim is a converted Muslim. Of course, this was contrary to the historical conditions of the time: in fact conversion to Islam was widespread in the Mediterranean while conversion of Muslims to Christianity was extremely rare.

The account of Islamic religious doctrine and practice produced by early modern orientalism bears little resemblance to the religion it purports to describe. In popular fiction and drama, pagan Saracens and idol-worshipping Moors alike pay homage to a deity called Mahoun or Mahound, who is often part of a heathen pantheon that includes Apollin, Termagant, and other devilish idols. One such representation of these “paynim knights” and their religion is seen in a metrical romance entitled *The Sowdone of Babylon*. In this text, when the Sowdone (i.e., “Sultan”) Laban is defeated by the Romans, one of his councilors says to him, “To tell the truth, our gods hate us. Thou seest, neither Mahoun or Apollin is worth a pig’s bristle” and when the Sultan has the idols brought before him, he tells them:

Fye upon thee, Appolyn. Thou shalt have an evil end. And much sorrow shall come to thee also, Termagant. And as for the, Mahound, Lord of all the reste, thou art not worth a mouse’s turd.⁴⁰

He then has his idols beaten with sticks and thrown out of his tent.

Muslims (or “Mahometans,” as they were called) were not only described as pagans, there was also a tendency to ignore their religious identity in favor of a label that signified a “barbaric” ethnicity. As Bernard Lewis points out:

Europeans in various parts of the continent showed a curious reluctance to call the Muslims by any name with a religious connotation, preferring to call

them by ethnic names, the obvious purpose of which was to diminish their stature and significance and to reduce them to something local or even tribal. At various times and various places, Europeans called Muslims Saracens, Moors, Turks, Tartars, according to which of the Muslim peoples they have encountered.⁴¹

The Europeans' confusion of various Eastern ethnicities and their misunderstanding of Islamic religious practices were accompanied by a distorted picture of the Prophet Muhammad. If he was not depicted as an idol, he was described as a renegade and a fraud, and his religion was denounced as a heresy founded on deceit and spread by violence. Late medieval and early modern accounts of the life of the Prophet and the establishment of Islam claim either that Muhammad was a Roman Catholic cardinal who was thwarted in his ambition to be elected as pope or that he was a poor camel driver who learned from a heretical Syrian monk to cobble together a new religion from fragments of Christian and Jewish doctrine.⁴² These polemical biographies claim that he seduced the Arabian people by fraudulent "miracles" and black magic, convincing them by means of "imposture" that he was God's chosen prophet. The Qur'an was usually described in terms of contempt. The anti-Islamic propaganda directed against the Prophet and his Book are typified in a polemical dialogue written by William Bedwell, one of the first truly learned Arabists in England. The title of his tract, printed in 1615, gives a sense of the Western European attitude toward Islam: it is called *Mohammedis Imposturare: That is, A Discovery of the manifold Forgeries, Falsehoods, and horrible impieties of the blasphemous seducer Mohammed: with a demonstration of the insufficiency of his law, contained in the cursed Alkoran*.

Islam was narrowly defined and caricatured as a religion of violence and lust—aggressive jihad in this world, and sensual pleasure promised in the next world. But if the doctrines of Islam were so obviously worthy of scorn, what could account for the widespread, rapid growth of Islam? Force of arms and successful military aggression, violent conversion by the sword—these are often cited by Christian writers in the early modern era as an explanation for the astonishing achievement of the Islamic conquests. The early Arab Muslims are described as powerful bandits and plunderers, united by a voracious appetite for booty. According to Leo Africanus,

... there is nothing that hath greatlier furthered the progression of the Mahumetan sect, than perpetuities of victorie, and the greatness of conquests . . . In that the greatest part of men, yea, and in a manner all, except such as have fastned their confidence upon the cross of Christ, and settled their

hope in eternity, follow that which best agreeth with sense, and measure the grace of God by worldly prosperitie.⁴³

The success of Islam is perversely misinterpreted as a sign of divine grace, and the evil instrument of God's wrath gains followers who wish to climb aboard the bandwagon of conquest.

For the people of Western Europe, the worldly wealth and power of Islam in the early modern era was both alluring and repellent, fascinating and terrifying. The European attitude toward Islam and its people is manifest, not only in descriptions of Islamic theology or Turkish belligerence, but as part of a whole set of stereotypes found also in literature and art, most of which represent the "oriental" Other as an external enemy. In many fictional narratives, the unity of truth and the survival of Christian virtue are predicated upon the struggle against a false, evil empire in the East. While depicting Islam and Christianity engaged in a Manichean struggle, the early modern demonization of Islam tends to focus upon the overwhelming, absolute *power* of Islamic culture. In these representations, this unlimited power is often embodied in an Islamic ruler, a sultan or king whose authority over his subjects is equated with the power of a master over his slave. It is therefore, by definition, an unjust, tyrannical, and oppressive power.

An interesting example of the Western image of oriental rule can be seen in John Milton's epic poem, *Paradise Lost* (first published in 1667). Milton's description in *Paradise Lost* of the greatest demon of all draws upon the Europeans' traditional demonization of Eastern power: Milton's poem gives us Satan as Sultan, a puissant oriental despot exhorting an evil horde of millions to wage war against God, Christ, and the world. Satan, commanding the fallen angels to rise from the lake of fire and regroup, is described as "their great Sultan waving to direct/Their course . . . and fill all the plain" (1.348–50). Satan's demonic followers are repeatedly identified with Eastern pagan gods and given their names (Osiris, Isis, Orus, Dagon, Moloch, Thammuz, Belial); and the capital of hell, Pandemonium, is compared with Middle Eastern cities: "Not Babylon/Nor great Alcairo such magnificence/Equaled in all their glories, to enshrine/Belus or Serapis their gods, or seat/Their kings, when Egypt with Assyria strove for wealth and luxury" (1.717–22). The fallen angels and their leader are described as Saracen warriors, and the chief hall of their infernal palace is "like a covered field, where champions bold/[were] Wont [to] ride in armed, and at the Soldan's chair/Defied the best of paynim chivalry/To mortal combat or career with lance" (1.763–66). Satan is enthroned as a glorious Eastern potentate:

High on a throne of royal state, which far Outshone the wealth of
Ormus and of Ind,

Or where the gorgeous East with richest hand
 Show'rs on her kings barbaric pearl and gold,
 Satan exalted sat. . . . (2.1–9)

In *Paradise Lost*, Evil comes from the East: Satan is an oriental monarch (Lucifer, the shining one—the Eastern morning star) whose proud ambition to defeat God and the angels is analogous to the aggressive imperialism of Eastern emperors such as the Ottoman sultan. According to this pattern of associations, the West is angelic; the East is demonic. Although this example of demonization is from a text that might be placed in the modern category of “fiction,” it is, in many ways, a typical example of how Islamic powers were associated with evil and represented by European writers in both literary and nonliterary forms. Milton's depiction of Satan is based upon a predominantly (but not entirely) negative and hostile attitude toward Islamic culture, a deeply imbedded way of thinking about the Orient that was (and still is) prevalent in the West.⁴⁴

Western representations of Islamic power are not always derogatory or negative; the European image of Islam is contradictory, containing both positive and negative features. For example, Milton's presentation of Satan's power and fortitude in Books I and II depicts Satan as a heroic leader who remains firm in his epic resistance in spite of his defeat and fall. Like the Ottoman regime, which maintained its power despite major defeats such as the battle of Ankara (the defeat of Bayazid by Timurlane) in 1402 and the naval battle at Lepanto in 1570, Satan rallies his army of devils and unites them in a continued effort to defy the forces of Good. Like Satan, the Ottoman sultan was seen as a figure of tyranny, pride, and pomp leading an evil empire in a violent effort to conquer Christendom and extinguish the true faith; but at the same time, his imperial accomplishments were admired, even envied by European observers. For example, Sir Henry Blount, in an account of his travels in the Levant, writes, “He who would behold these times in their greatest glory could not find a better Scene than Turkey . . . [The Turks] are the only moderne people, great in action . . . whose Empire hath so suddenly invaded the world, and fixt itself such firme foundations as no other ever did.”⁴⁵ For Blount, and for many other Christians in Europe, the vast wealth, absolute power, and steadfast discipline of the Islamic ruler and his loyal, united followers were causes for wonder and esteem.⁴⁶

Milton's association of Satanic power that the Ottoman sultanate also draws upon an image of oriental despotism which was available in classical and Hebraic texts. In the Old Testament and in Greek and Roman legends and histories, the Eastern emperor is an autocrat who rules as God's scourge rather than by divine right. His tyrannical power is produced by violence and based on fear; he is implacable, paranoid, and utterly self-interested. Examples of

such despots include Egyptian pharaohs, as well as the Babylonian and Persian kings of ancient times.

The image of the Eastern emperor found in the Bible and in classical texts was easily adapted to describe the Islamic caliph or Ottoman sultan. These Muslim rulers were then represented as tyrants who exercise an absolute and arbitrary power, especially over life and death. They are irrational and unjust, fond of beheading and other cruel forms of punishment and torture (the Ottoman sultans who murdered their own brothers are often mentioned). Their power is a menace to be feared and fought; they are invaders plotting to overrun Christendom.

In Book V, canto 8, of Edmund Spenser's epic poem, *The Faerie Queene* (1594), Spenser's hero, Arthur, fights and defeats an Islamic "Souldan," an idolatrous, pagan tyrant who treacherously violates the chivalric codes of hospitality and diplomacy, and uses his power unjustly to destroy virtue, either by force or by bribery. The Souldan is an archetype of "lawlesse powre and tortious wrong" (5.8.51). At the same time, he is an allegorical version of Philip II of Spain, and the slaying of the Souldan by Arthur is symbolic of the English victory over the Spanish Armade of 1588. The Souldan rides to battle in

... a charret [chariot] hye,
 With yron wheeles and hookes arm'd dreadfully,
 And drawn of cruel steedes, which he had fed
 With flesh of men, whom through fell tyranny
 He slaughtered had, and ere they were halfe ded,
 Their bodies to his beasts for provedner did spread. (5.8.28)

Arthur is unable to reach him with his sword. It is only by divine grace (embodied in the magic power of Arthur's crystal shield) that he is able to defeat the Souldan, who is torn to pieces by his own horses—an image of oppressed subjects rebelling against and destroying an unjust overlord. Spenser's multi-layered allegory draws upon the traditional signification of Islamic-Oriental tyranny, as well as the association of papal power with Eastern/Turkish idolatry and injustice, to make the claim that the Protestant cause is one of "honour" and "right" (5.8.30), as opposed to the pride and despotism of both Islam and Roman Catholicism.

Closely related to the stereotypical conception of oriental kingship are the ideas of vast wealth and sensual luxury. These tend to be personal features of the Eastern potentate represented by the West, but they also refer to commercial realities—particularly the huge profits that could be made trading in the Islamic ports of the southern and eastern Mediterranean.⁴⁷ Valuable luxury goods came to Europe from the East, including silk, carpets,

spices, gold, and incense. European writers, like Mandeville, wrote of the spectacular, exotic wealth and splendor that was allegedly to be found in the courts of African and Asian princes. Accounts of vast riches are found in many early modern “descriptions” of foreign lands and palaces, including descriptions of the seraglio of the “Great Turk” in Istanbul.⁴⁸ Such images of Oriental wealth provided material for the spectacle of Renaissance theater and court masque. In Robert Greene’s heroic play *Orlando Furioso* (1594), to cite just one example, Orlando plans to defeat his Saracen foes and return to France for a wedding, his ship is laden with luxury goods:

Our Sailes of Sendell spread into the winde;
 Our ropes and tacklings all of finest silk,
 Fetcht from the native loomes of labouring wormes,
 The pride of Barbarie, and the glorious wealth
 That is transported by the Westerne bounds;
 Our stems cut out of gleaming ivories;
 Our planks and sides framde out of Cypresse wood,
 . . . So rich shall be the rubbish of our Barkes,
 Tane here for ballas to the ports of France,
 That Charles himself shall wonder at the sight.
 (11. 1586–1601)

This fabulous version of “venture capitalism” is a fantasy based upon the lucrative adventures of real merchants such as Roger Bodenham, whose 1550 voyage to Candia (Crete) and Chios is recorded in Hakluyt’s *Principal Navigations* (1598–1600), and includes hair-breadth escapes and skirmishes with Turkish galleys.⁴⁹

The Mediterranean was the setting for many “true” stories about Islamic power at sea and in the commercial ports controlled by the Ottomans. Printed accounts of Turkish or Barbary galleys attacking Christian merchants present and confirm the Western stereotype that associates Islam with acts of violence, treachery, cruelty, and wrath. In literature and legend, Islamic “Saracens,” “Turks,” and “Moors” frequently appear as ranting, irrational, fanatical killers who practice treachery, oath-breaking, double-dealing, enslavement, piracy, and terrorism. From the Saracen knights of medieval romance to the Barbary pirates and Turkish pashas of early modern “report,” tales of hostage-taking and captivity have been emphasized in Western narratives about the Islamic world.⁵⁰ In medieval and early modern narratives, these Islamic villains usually come to a violent end, howling obscene curses and shrieking as their souls go straight to hell.

Taking *The Faerie Queene* once again as an example, we encounter in Book I of Spenser’s epic three “paynim knights,” Sans Loy, Sans Joy, and Sans Foy, allegorical representations of the evil and violence that result from

faithlessness: they call on their "paynim" idols and then, in defeat, curse their own gods for giving victory to Spenser's hero, the Redcrosse knight. Sans Foy appears in Book I of *The Faerie Queene*, accompanied by Duessa, the scarlet whore of Babylon who wears "a Persian mitre on her hed" (1.1.13). When Sans Foy encounters Redcrosse, he exclaims, "Curse upon that Crosse . . . that keepe thy body from the bitter fit" (1.2.18). As a pagan idolater, Sans Foy misinterprets the red crusader's cross of St. George, thinking that it is an amulet worn to avert evil, not an outward sign of the inner faith that is the true source of Redcrosse's strength. Sans Foy is given a death-blow by Redcrosse, and his soul is sent directly to hell: "his grudging ghost did strive/With the fraile flesh; at last it flitted is,/Whither the soules do fly of men, that live amis" (1.2.19). In the next canto, his brother Sans Loy, a "proud Paynim . . . full of wrath" (1.3.35), appears seeking revenge. In these episodes and throughout Book I of *The Faerie Queene*, Spenser draws upon the popular, romance tradition's representation of Islam to supply his chivalric allegory with images of false faith and exotic evil.

Sans Foy and Sans Loy are obviously and aggressively evil, and so Redcrosse is able to recognize and defeat them, but it is the disguised, seductive evil of Duessa, the whore of Babylon, that leads Redcrosse into temptation, defeat, and imprisonment. His downfall is emphatically eroticized: it is a sexual seduction accomplished by the oriental courtesan-sorceress Duessa, who is really a hideous hag, but uses her magic to appear beautiful. The description of Duessa's appearance after her triumph over Redcrosse is based on Revelation 17:3–4: "I saw a woman sit upon a skarlat coloured beast, full of names of blasphemie. . . . And the woman was araied in purple and skarlat, and gilded with golde, and precious stones, and pearles" (Geneva Bible). She is "great Babylon, the mother of whoredomes," whose cup contains "the filth of her fornication." Babylon is repeatedly identified with Rome in the Geneva Bible's marginal gloss to the Book of Revelation. The gloss explains that she represents "the new Rome which is the Papistrie, whose crueltie and blood sheding is declared by skarlat," but the place-name "Babylon" also refers to Cairo and Baghdad, Islamic cities of great wealth and splendor. The Fall of Babylon is the "fall of that great whore of Rome" that shall be accompanied by the fall of "all strange religions, as of the Jews, Turks and others" (Geneva Bible commentary, 16:19).

Spenser's representation of oriental evil relies upon Protestant readings of Revelation, but it also derives its significance from the traditional Western representation of Islamic society in the Levant. The private life of wealthy Arabs, Moors, and Turks was said to be one of hidden sin, and their houses and palaces were described as locations for unbridled sensuality, exotic eroticism, lust, and lechery. In European descriptions of Islamic society, the harem, polygamy, and concubinage are frequently presented as if they were

universally practiced by the Muslims. As Samuel Chew has observed, "The interest of Europeans centered with a natural though often prurient curiosity upon the Seraglio . . . because in it were practiced, or were reported to be practiced, barbarous cruelties and extravagant sensualities which were none the less frequently described for being characterized as indescribable."⁵¹ Courtly, upper-class customs (especially those of the Ottoman ruling class) were best known by European readers and so published reports that claimed to describe the seraglio and the harem produced an image of Islamic sexuality that made the Ottoman sultan's palace a proverbial site for sexual excess, sadistic entertainments, and private, pornographic spectacle. When Edgar, in Shakespeare's *King Lear*, recites his sins and speaks of his sexual excesses, he claims that he had "in woman, out-paramoured the Turk" (3.4.92).

Both sexual excess and sexual repression are emphasized in Western accounts of Eastern sexuality. The notion of a veiled, hidden lust that masquerades as virtue and chastity (Duessa, the whore of Babylon, being an example of this) is typically a characteristic of the Islamic woman in Western European texts. The virtuous Muslim woman often converts to Christianity, "saved" by the love of a good Christian man.⁵²

In medieval and Renaissance accounts of Islam, "Mahomet's paradise" is described as a false vision of sexual and sensual delights with its nubile houris, rivers of wine, and luxurious gardens. One such account of Islamic eschatology is found in *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville* (a text that began to circulate in manuscript around 1356–66). Mandeville approves the Islamic belief in heaven, hell, and divine judgment, and goes so far as to find great compatibility between Islamic and Christian doctrine, but he finds the Muslims' description of paradise to be one of their major errors:

if they are asked what paradise they are talking about, they say it is a place of delights, where a man shall find all kinds of fruit at all seasons of the year, and rivers running with wine, and milk, and honey, and clear water; they say they will have beautiful palaces and fine great mansions, according to their desserts, and that these palaces and mansions are made of precious stones, gold and silver. Every man shall have four score wives, who will be beautiful damsels, and he shall lie with them whenever he wishes, and he will always find them virgins.⁵³

Christian writers not only criticized Islam for offering sensual pleasure as a reward to the virtuous in the next life, they also condemned the sexual freedom allowed in this life under Muslim law. Islamic regulations governing concubinage, marriage, and divorce were misunderstood and reviled by Western Europeans.⁵⁴ Alexandre du Pont, in his *Roman de Mahomet*, maintains that the Prophet permitted every Muslim man to marry ten wives, and every Muslim woman to marry ten times as well.⁵⁵ According to John Pory,

who translated Leo Africanus's *History and Description of Africa* into English in 1600, the religious law of Muhammad "looseth the bridle to the flesh, which is a thing acceptable to the greatest part of men."⁵⁶ Pory and others claimed that the attraction of conversion to Islam—and the reluctance of Muslims to convert to Christianity—was based primarily upon the greater sexual freedom allowed under Islamic law.

The alleged sexual excesses of the Muslims or Turks were linked to those of the Moors or Black Africans, who are frequently described in the Western tradition as a people naturally given to promiscuity.⁵⁷ Leo Africanus says of the North African Moors that there is "no nation under heaven more prone to venerie. . . ."⁵⁸

"White" Europeans interpreted the blackness of the Moors as a sign of in-born evil. The Christian myth that explains the origins of the dark-skinned races, including the Moorish Muslims of Africa, is derived from the Old Testament story of Ham (or Cham), son of Noah, who was cursed for beholding the nakedness of his father. Ham was said to be the original progenitor of the black races, whose skin color was the outward sign of an inherited curse, visited upon Ham and his offspring by God. Furthermore, the black or dark skin of Moors and other Muslim people of color was compared by fair-skinned Europeans with the color of the devils, burnt black by the flames of hell.

The stage Moor of early modern Europe was an actor in blackface. When a "Moor" like Shakespeare's Othello appeared on the London stage in the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries, he was essentially an emblematic figure, not a "naturalistic" portrayal of a particular ethnic type.⁵⁹ As John Gillies reminds readers of *Othello*, ". . . the sharper, more elaborately differentiated and more hierarchical character of post-Elizabethan constructions of racial difference are inappropriate to the problems posed by the Elizabethan other."⁶⁰ Othello is not to be identified with a specific, historically accurate racial category; rather, he is a dramatic symbol of a dark, threatening power at the edge of Christendom. As such, Othello the Moor is associated with a whole set of related terms—"Moor," "Turk," "Ottomite," "Saracen," "Mahometan," "Egyptian," "Judean," "Indian"—all constructed in opposition to Christian faith and virtue.

Looking particularly at the significance of Othello's epithet, "the Moor," G. K. Hunter describes how this term was understood:

"The word 'Moor' had no clear racial status" to begin with; "its first meaning in the O.E.D. is 'Mahmoden,'" which itself meant merely "infidel," "non-Christian," "barbarian." "Moors were, as foreign infidels, virtually equivalent to Turks: 'the word "Moor" was very vague ethnographically, and very often seems to have meant little more than 'black-skinned outsider,' but it was not

vague in its antithetical relationship to the European norm of the civilized white Christian."⁶¹

The Moors of North Africa were identified with Islam, and the term "Moor" (along with its cognates in other European languages) is one of a whole group of terms that were lumped together and associated, in the minds of early modern Europeans, with the worship of Mahomet. The words "Moor" and "Turk" were sometimes used with a specific reference to the people of Turkey or Morocco, but more often they signified a generalized Islamic Other.

Whether imagined as a black-skinned African Moor, or as a robed and turbaned Turk, the physical, external difference of the Islamic Other was often read as a sign of demonic darkness and barbaric ignorance. This point may be linked to one more aspect of Western stereotyping—the representation of Saracens, Moors, and Turks as embodiments of evil. We have seen this already in representations of evil that exhibit Islamic, "oriental" features (such as Spenser's depiction of the Saracen brothers and Duessa, or Milton's sultanically Satan), but the stereotype is also employed directly to reveal the supposed iniquity of Islam and to portray Islamic people as agents of evil.

As we have seen, Islam's purported evil is sometimes radically demonized and made into a monster. On other occasions, it is associated with the evil of black magic, occult power, and the worship of devils or idols, but such representations usually occur in popular culture, or in societies that had little direct contact with Islamic culture. For more learned Europeans who were placed in closer proximity to North Africa or to the lands ruled by the Ottoman Turks, it was difficult to demonize Islam in such a way. As Jack D'Amico has observed,

the problem of containing Islam, politically and intellectually, was made more difficult by those respects in which Islamic culture was actually superior. . . . A more potent and seductive foe, Islam had to be represented as a dangerous distortion of the true Church, a parody of civilization, its Mohammed a false prophet, its Jihad a perversion of the Crusade, its book, the Koran, a collection of errors and lies that mocked the Bible.⁶²

Nonetheless, there were Europeans who rejected both the popular and learned demonizations of Islam: not all Europeans believed in the accuracy of the negative stereotypes. Some of those who traveled to the Islamic world, observing the achievements and institutions of that culture with their own eyes, were able to praise rather than revile. For example, the French traveler Jean Thevenot, who went to Turkey in 1652, observed:

There are many in Christendom who believe that the Turks are great devils, barbarians, and people without faith, but those who have known them and who have talked with them have quite a different opinion; since it is certain that the Turks are good people who follow very well the commandment given us by nature, only to do to others what we would have done to us.⁶³

And the French philosopher Jean Bodin, writing in the sixteenth century, reported that:

The King of the Turks, who rules over a great part of Europe, safeguards the rites of religion as well as any prince in the world. Yet, he constrains no one, but on the contrary permits everyone to live as his conscience dictates. What is more, even in his seraglio at Pera he permits the practice of four diverse religions, that of the Jews, the Christians according to the Roman rite, and according to the Greek rite, and that of Islam.⁶⁴

Such views, however, were rare and were not usually shared by those Europeans who did not have the chance to visit the Middle East. It was not until the second half of the seventeenth century that voices in favor of toleration and openness toward Islam were widely heard.⁶⁵

Unfortunately, the demonization of Islam and misunderstanding of Islamic society and religion that this essay recounts are still prevalent in the dominant ideology of the West. Today, many of the stereotypes described above continue to shape the image of Islam produced by the mass media in North America, Europe, and other parts of the world.⁶⁶ If we examine, in particular, the American representations of Islam in mass media journalism during the last 10 or 15 years, we will find ample evidence for an unbroken tradition depicting Islamic people as violent, cruel, wrathful, lustful, and so on. With the end of the Cold War, America needed a new ideological bogey man to serve as an alleged external threat; and perhaps this explains the recent resurgence of anti-Islamic imagery, a revival that draws upon a venerable tradition of anti-Islamic demonization that began in the medieval period and acquired some of its present features in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Notes

1. For detailed information about these authors and their works, consult Norman Daniel, *Islam and the West: The Making of an Image* (Edinburgh, 1960). See also James Kritzeck, *Peter the Venerable and Islam* (Princeton, 1964).
2. Dorothee Medlitzki, *The Matter of Araby in Medieval England* (New Haven, Conn., 1977), 161. For further analyses of the romance tradition

- in Europe and the depiction of Islamic figures in romance, see chapter 6, "History and Romance," in Metlitzki; as well as Noman Daniel, *Heroes and Saracens: An Interpretation of the "Chansons de Geste"* (Edinburgh, 1984); C. Meredith Jones, "The Conventional Saracen of the Songs of Geste," *Speculum* 17 (1942): 201–25; and two articles by William Wistar Comfort, "The Literary Role of the Saracen in the French Epic," *Proceedings of the Modern Language Association* 55 (1940): 628–59, and "The Saracens in Italian Epic Poetry," *Proceedings of the Modern Language Association* 59 (1994): 882–910.
3. Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York, 1978): "Quite literally, the [French] occupation [of Egypt in 1798] gave birth to the entire modern experience of the Orient as interpreted from within the universe of discourse founded by Napoleon in Egypt . . ." (87).
 4. W. Montgomery Watt, *Muslim-Christian Encounters: Perceptions and Misperceptions* (London, 1991), 88.
 5. Samir Amin, *Eurocentrism* (New York, 1989), 10.
 6. Amin, *Eurocentrism*, 10.
 7. Richard Knolles, *History of the Turks* (London, 1603).
 8. See Samuel C. Chew, "The Present Terror in the World," *The Crescent and the Rose: Islam and England during the Renaissance* (New York, 1937).
 9. *A Short Forme of Thanksgiving to God for the Delyverie of the Isle of Malta* (1565), reprinted in *Liturgical Services of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth: Liturgies and Occasional Forms of Prayer set forth in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth*, ed. William K. Clay (Cambridge, 1847).
 10. *Ibid.*, 522, 532–33.
 11. *Correspondence of Sidney and Languet*, ed. W. A. Bradley (Boston, 1912), 106.
 12. Coelius Augustinius Curio, *A Notable History of the Saracens*, trans. Thomas Newton (London, 1575).
 13. Anonymous, *The Policy of the Turkish Empire* (London, 1597), A3v.
 14. See Dorothy M. Vaughan, *Europe and the Turk: A Pattern of Alliances, 1350–1700* (Liverpool, 1954), 134.
 15. Mentioned in Arthur Goldschmidt, Jr., *A Concise History of the Middle East*, 3d ed. (Boulder, Co., 1988), 132.
 16. Vaughan, *Europe and the Turk*, 134–46; and Kenneth M. Setton, "Lutheranism and the Turkish Peril," *Balkan Studies* 3 (1962): 136–65.
 17. Vaughan, *Europe and the Turk*, 135.
 18. Franklin L. Baumer, "England, the Turk, and the Common Corps of Christendom," *American Historical Review* 50 (1945): 26–48.
 19. Cited in Setton, "Lutheranism," 151.
 20. William Gravet, *A Sermon Preached at Paules Cross . . . intreating of the holy Scriptures, and the use of the same* (London, 1587), 50–51.
 21. Consult Christopher Tyerman, *England and the Crusades* (Chicago, 1988) and Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Crusades* (Cambridge, Mass., 1987) on the persistence of the crusading movement and crusading rhetoric into the sixteenth and

- seventeenth centuries. See Tyerman (359–70) on the rhetoric of crusade used by both the English and the Spanish in their conflict during the sixteenth century. Of course, the papacy had frequently called for crusades against all forms of paganism and heresy, for example at the time of the Albigenian crusade.
22. Cited in Riley-Smith, *The Crusades*, 242.
 23. Reginald Pole, *The seditious and blasphemous Oration of Cardinal Pole . . . Translated into englysh by Fabyane Wythers* (London, 1560) A3–3v. This was originally written in Latin and published in 1536. It was entitled *Pro Ecclesiasticae Unitatis Defensione*. When Fabian Withers translated Cardinal Pole's Latin into English in 1560, he included an anti-Catholic gloss that counters Pole's claim that the Protestants were infidels: "This is the general and natural sense of all the popysh secte to count all them which have professed the gospell for turkes and worse than turkes . . ." (C1).
 24. Cited in Kenneth M. Setton, *Western Hostility to Islam and Prophecies of Turkish Doom* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1992), 41–42.
 25. Cited in Riley-Smith, *The Crusades*, 242.
 26. See the conclusions of Tyerman and Riley-Smith.
 27. Luis Vaz de Camoes, *The Lusiads*, trans. William K. Atkinson (London: Penguin, 1952). 162–63.
 28. See Kenneth M. Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant, 1204–1571*, 4 vols. (Philadelphia, 1976–84).
 29. Baumer, "England and the Turk," 39.
 30. Cited in Baumer, 39.
 31. Sutton, *Western Hostility*, 41.
 32. *The Policy*, A3v–A4r.
 33. *The Policy*, B4v–B5r.
 34. See Nabil Matar, "'Turning Turk': Conversion to Islam in English Renaissance Thought," *Durham University Journal* 86 (1994): 33–42.
 35. The most widely read captivity narratives of this time were certainly those of the Croation Bartholomaeus Georgievicz, a nobleman taken prisoner by the Turks at the battle of Mohacs in 1526. He spent ten years as a slave in Istanbul, Thrace, and Asia Minor. His writings were printed in many editions in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and translated into many languages. See his *De Turcarum moribus epitome* (Lyon, 1553), which was printed more than a dozen times in the sixteenth century; and *De afflictione tam captivorum quam etiam sub Turcae tributo viventium Christianorum* (Antwerp, 1544). See also the captivity narratives included in Richard Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations* (London, 1598–1600), especially the sensational "worthy enterprises of John Fox an Englishman in delivering 266 Christians out of the captivity of the Turks at Alexandria, the 3 of January 1577."
 36. Edward Webbe, *The Rare and most wonderful thinges which Edward Webbe an Englishman borne, hath seene and passed in his troublesome travailes . . .* (London, 1590; repr. 1869, ed. Edward Arber), 29.
 37. See, for example, Andrew Barker, *A true and certaine report of . . . the Estate of Captaine Ward and Danseker, the two late famous Pirates* (London,

- 1609). For a comprehensive account of how these renegades were represented in English culture, refer to Nabil Matar, "The Renegades in English Seventeenth-Century Imagination," *Studies in English Literature* 33 (1993): 489–505.
38. On the literary treatment of the Turks in the Renaissance, see Samuel C. Chew, *The Crescent and the Rose: Islam and England during the Renaissance* (New York, 1937); Clarence D. Rouillard, *The Turk in French History, Thought, and Literature, 1520–1660* (Paris, 1938); and Albert Mas, *Les Turcs dans la Litterature Espagnole du Siecle d'Or*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1967).
 39. See Metlitzki, *The Matter of Araby*, 160–92.
 40. Cited in Chew, *The Crescent and the Rose*, 392.
 41. Bernard Lewis, *Islam and the West* (Oxford, 1993), 7.
 42. On the polemical biography of Muhammad, see Norman Daniel, "The Life of Muhammed" in *Islam and the West*; the section on "Mahomet and Mede': The Treatment of Islam" in Metlitzki, *The Matter of Araby*, 197–210; and chapter 9, "The Prophet and his Book" in Chew, *The Crescent and the Rose*.
 43. Leo Africanus, *The History and Description of Africa*, ed. Robert Brown, trans. John Pory, 3 vols. (London, 1896), 3:1019.
 44. It is important to note that this kind of dehumanization and demonization of the Other is not unique or inherent to Western thought or literature (as Edward Said and others sometimes imply). The West itself has often been the object of such demonization on the part of non-Western cultures (including Islamic culture's representation of the "Great Satan," America). Today, the West is particularly distinguished in its dehumanization of the Other because it is a dominant, global culture and power. Thus the West's cultural mechanism of demonization is more visible in the world and is perhaps a more damaging problem, but it is certainly not a mechanism that operates in Western culture only.
 45. Sir Henry Blount, *A Voyage into the Levant* (London, 1636), 2–3.
 46. See, for example, R. M., *Learned of a Turke; or instructions and advise sent from the Turkish Army at Constantinople to the English army at London* (London, 1660).
 47. On the movement of merchant ships and commodities between Europe and the Middle East during this period in the Mediterranean, see T. S. Willan, "Some Aspects of English Trade with the Levant in the Sixteenth Century," *English Historical Review* 70 (1955): 399–410; and Ralph Davis, "England and the Mediterranean, 1570–1670," in *Essays in Economic and Social History of Tudor and Stuart England in Honour of R. H. Tawney*, ed. F. J. Fisher (Cambridge, 1961), 117–37.
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 49. Reprinted in Richard Hakluyt, *Voyages and Discoveries*, ed. Jack Beeching (New York, 1972), 52–55.
 50. See Matar, "The Renegade in English Seventeenth-Century Imagination."
 51. Chew, *The Crescent and the Rose*, 192. For a few more summaries of such accounts see *idem*, 192–95.

52. See Metlitzki, *The Matter of Araby*, 177ff.
53. *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville*, ed., C. W. R. D. Moseley (London, 1983), 104.
54. See Daniel, *Islam and the West*, 135–40.
55. Cited in Daniel, *Islam and the West*, 145.
56. Leo Africanus, 3:1008.
57. See Jack D'Amico, *The Moor in English Renaissance Drama* (Tampa, Florida, 1991), 63ff; and Eldred Jones, *Othello's Countrymen: The African in English Renaissance Drama* (London, 1965), 1–26.
58. *History and Description of Africa*, 1:180.
59. For more information about the figure of the Moor on the London stage, consult D'Amico, *The Moor*; Ruth Cowhig, "Blacks in English Renaissance Drama and the Role of Shakespeare's Othello," in *The Black Presence in English Literature*, ed. D. Dabydeen (Manchester, 1985); Elliot Tokson, *The Popular Image of the Black Man in English Drama, 1550–1688* (Boston, 1982); and Jones, *Othello's Countrymen*.
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61. G. K. Hunter, "Othello and Colour Prejudice," *Proceedings of the British Academy* 53 (1967): 147.
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63. Cited in Lewis, *Islam and the West*, 80.
64. Cited in Paul Coles, *The Ottoman Impact on Europe* (New York, 1968), 151.
65. See, for example, the authors cited in Nabil Matar, "Islam in Interregnum and Restoration England," *The Seventeenth Century* 6 (1991): 57–71.
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List of Contributors

Gloria Allaire, Gettysburg College.

Nancy Bisaha, Vassar College.

David R. Blanks, American University in Cairo.

Jo Ann Hoeppner Moran Cruz, Georgetown University.

Nina Dulin-Mallory, LaGrange College.

Michael Frassetto, Encyclopædia Britannica.

Donald J. Kagay, Albany State College.

Ernest N. Kaulbach, University of Texas, Austin.

Alauddin Samarrai, St. Cloud University.

John V. Tolan, University of Toulouse.

Daniel J. Vitkus, American University in Cairo.

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